

**Return Migration: A Case Study from Swan River Valley,
Manitoba**

By Trent W. Grindle

**A thesis presented to the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY**

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BY

Trent W. Grindle

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of
Master of Arts**

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Abstract

Migration is a fact of life experienced by many human beings. A large body of academic studies have been devoted to migration, but a significant aspect of migration has been largely ignored by most social sciences, or explained away as anomalies or with simple causal models, usually economically based. Return migration represents a significant amount of the total migration flow around the world. This thesis is comprised of a case study of return migrants from the Swan River Valley area of the Province of Manitoba, Canada, as well as an examination and comparison between various other case studies of return migration from around the world. Beginning from a basis of rejecting singular causal factors, especially those of an economic nature, this study is an attempt to show, in a holistic manner, the causes and effects of return migration. Some of the most significant factors causing migrants to return to their region of origin include the desire to live close to family, familiarity with local networks in the region of origin and a rejection of many aspects of urban living. Although more involved research needs to be done, the findings of this research shows that understanding the factors affecting return migration could have strong implications for academic studies of migration as well as for government policy makers in the areas of migration and immigration.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to Return Migration

There are probably very few people on the planet who have not been affected in some way by migration. More people have probably migrated from one town, city, region or country to another in the last century than in all of the rest of human history combined. In many ways, the world has become, since the Second World War, a vast human “village”, as the capitalist economic system has spread across the globe, creating a complex web of international trade. Modern communications technology has made communicating and doing business with someone on the other side of the world as simple as pressing a few buttons. What this means is that more than ever, people migrate all around the world to work and live, following their interests and employment opportunities wherever they may appear.

At or before the turn of the century, following those opportunities meant a lengthy and dangerous voyage across the ocean to the New World, a trip that millions made nevertheless. Two world wars in this century displaced millions of individuals who were forced to change their region or even their country of residence. Differences in wealth and opportunity between regions and nations continue to cause massive numbers of people to travel around the globe. Many rural-to-urban migrants were farmers and peasants from rural regions, drawn to cities by the prospect of taking part in booming post-war economies. The

trend to follow jobs wherever on the planet they might be (usually large urban centres) continues to the present day. In Canada, rural and small town population have grown since the 1970's, but not at nearly as fast a rate as urban population growth (Bollman and Mendelson, 1998:1). Canada's population in rural areas and small towns dropped from 34 percent in 1976 to 22 percent in 1996. This trend toward urbanization can be seen all around the world. However, urbanization is only one aspect of the massive migrations of people seeking opportunities.

In opposition to the huge flow of migrants to cities there is a relatively small but substantial worldwide counter-flow of people to rural areas. Within the last few decades, this flow can be partially attributed to a suburbanization of small towns and villages surrounding large urban centers. However, there is another kind of urban to rural flow of people. These people are returning to the regions or even towns and villages where they grew up, and where their parents or other relatives may still live. This type of migration is called return migration, and it is the focus of this thesis.

Return migration has only been studied by social scientists since the 1970s (King, 1986:1). Compared to the study of migration, return migration has been the focus of little research, most of which has appeared in the form of case studies, with little comparison to other studies. These case studies have not gone a long way towards developing any general theory about return migration, nor have they attempted any substantial comparison of the causes and consequences of return migration in nations and regions of the world.

The purpose of this thesis is to make some attempt at drawing together case study data and theory to present a clearer picture of the phenomenon of return migration. It is also an attempt to fill gaps in the return migration literature with respect to return migration in rich nations and return in an internal migration context. Although concepts and data from sociological, psychological and economic perspectives will be utilized, the focus will be put on an anthropological perspective. For the reader not familiar with this perspective, it is comprised of three main elements. The first is that it is diachronic. That is, it is concerned with human behaviour at different times, as well as how and why the behaviour changes over time. The second element is that it is comparative. That is why one component of this thesis is the comparison between the context of return migration in different regions or nations. The third, and perhaps most important element of the anthropological perspective is that it is holistic. Anthropology is not concerned with only the economic, political, ideological or psychological elements of human behaviour. It is concerned with understanding human activity as an interconnected whole, across space and time. Anthropology is a science of human behaviour, an endeavor to observe, understand, and explain human activity.

Research Questions: Purpose and Scope of This Thesis

Several important questions about return migration will be addressed in this thesis. Some of these questions are:

-What is return migration: that is, how do we distinguish it from visits or some other type of migration? Are frequency and length of stay factors? Is intent to return during the initial migration an important part of return migration?

-What are the factors that influence migration and return? Do migrants make the decision to migrate or return based on knowledge of all the factors that affect them, or is the decision to migrate or return involuntary or forced in some way?

-How does return migration in rural Manitoba compare with return migration in other parts of Canada, North America, The World? How are return migration factors influenced by the social, political and economic contexts of each area?

-What are the common factors, if any, that affect the migration cycle everywhere?

-How is return migration related to issues of regional economic development in regard to remittances or investments by return migrants?

-What is the significance for rural settlements of migration and subsequent return in the areas of local politics, economy, social and family life?

-What stresses or advantages are given to a rural settlement with a long history of migration and return, i.e., brain drain; disassociation of migrant from family and friends, stability, innovation or disintegration of local economy?

This thesis is about return migration. It is an attempt to present a more holistic perspective of return migration than has been presented by other researchers. The purpose of this thesis is to determine what causes people to return, and what happens when they do. However, it is not just as simple as

asking someone why he or she returned to their region or town of origin, and compare that to what people say in Norway, for example.

To understand why people return, one needs first to understand why they left in the first place. For that reason this thesis will explore the entire migration and return cycle, using data collected in the Swan River Valley, Manitoba as an example. These data will be briefly compared to information from other studies on return migration from around the world, and the analysis of these studies may be a first step towards an ethnology of return migration. The conclusions of this thesis may have potential as a predictive model, allowing one to see the factors that influence the migration and return cycle, and the kinds of people that are most likely to migrate and return.

The first chapter of the thesis includes a review of the history of theory on return migration, and to a degree, migration studies in general. That will lead us into the second chapter, which deals with the case study from Swan Valley, Manitoba. Chapter 3 is an analysis of the results of a survey given in the summer of 1997 to the graduating high school class of the Swan Valley Regional Secondary School. The purpose of this survey was to explore the kinds of factors that “push” a potential migrant to leave a rural region like the Swan Valley. This chapter also includes a description of the lives of migrants during their stay in the host region. Chapter 4 begins with an examination of the return decision. The focus of this chapter is the returned migrant, and the ways that various people and institutions are affected by return.

Chapter 5 is an analysis of the interviews with return migrants in the Swan Valley, followed by suggestions for building an ethnology of return migration.

Hypothesis and Argument

Theories about why people migrate usually place economic considerations as the most important element in the migration decision. Maier and Weiss (economists from Austria), for example (1990:19), point out that there are four elements to the migration decision: income possibilities, prevailing prices, utility maximization, and individual evaluation of economic factors. They claim that only economic factors can be measured, and that “a portion of the variation in utility will remain unexplained and must be attributed to idiosyncrasies and situational factors unknown to the researcher” (Maier and Weiss, 1991:19). These “idiosyncrasies” and “situational factors” may have less impact on the migration decision than they do for the decision to return. Many elements, such as local or regional unemployment rates, may affect the migration decision. Migration is often described by social scientists as a means for national or international equalization of labour (i.e., supply and demand), to balance the need for labour in certain locations with a mobile labour force, traditionally comprised of the “excess population” from rural regions.

So where does return migration fit into this equation? If labour is needed in cities, not rural areas, if training and the opportunity of a variety of available jobs are only to be found in cities, then why would people want to

return to their region of origin? The primary hypothesis being tested in this thesis, based on the Swan Valley case study and other data, is that return migrants are willing to forego maximizing their earning potential in order to optimize their perceived quality of life. What this means is that return migrants may take a lower paying job, or a job that does not utilize their skills, in order to have a lifestyle that they are more comfortable with, or to be close to friends and family, or to fulfil some type of family obligation. It is this idea, that return migration may sometimes be “economically illogical”, but is not without another kind of logic, that will guide and focus this inquiry. I will now turn to a discussion of migration and return and the theory which has been constructed to explain it.

Before discussing previous theories and observations about return migration, a few terms that will be used throughout this text must be defined. Migration refers to a relatively permanent change in residence from one administrative unit (town, village, and city) to another (Kosinski, Prothero, 1975:1). Return migration, also known as reflux migration, homeward migration, remigration, return flow, second-time migration, repatriation and retromigration (Gmelch, 1980:1136), can refer to a number of different kinds of movement of people. Return migration as defined by King (1986:4) is what happens “when people return to their country or region of origin after a significant period abroad or in another region.” This is the most significant type, when an individual leaves the area of origin, enters a host region, and then returns directly to the region of origin without stopping anywhere else to live. Area of origin is the place where a person was raised or spent the bulk of their

childhood. It is more than just a matter of location recognition; a person has ties to the history of a region through connections to family members, friends, and affiliations with local institutions or clubs that makes that place very attractive for the individual to live in.

King (1986: 4) points out that there are a number of types of migration. Return migration usually refers to the action of moving from point A to point B, then returning to A. Transient migration refers to the act of moving from point A, to B, to C. Reemigration is the movement from point A, to B, to A, and back to B again. If this movement is regular, it can become circular migration or seasonal migration. For the purposes of this study I would like to focus on a combination of classic return migration with reemigration and seasonal or circular migration. Many of the migrants returning to the Swan Valley area are students who work at wage-paying jobs in the summer while residing with parents, as well as others who work on their parents' farms. The life cycles of these individuals are important in the understanding of return migration because after a period of oscillations between the origin and host regions, many of the seasonal migrants who are students settle in one of those two regions. The frequent oscillations between locations may slow and stop when individuals make a choice between the area of origin, the host region, or another area.

There are a number of models that can be used to analyze return migration. One of the simplest frameworks (King, 1986:9) considers rates of return in reference to distance, time and intention. Time away and distance from the place of origin have a direct, proportional effect on the number of

return migrants. One could also measure the intention of the return migrant to determine what type of return migration the individual has in mind. Occasional returns are just visits. Periodic returns might be every weekend or end of the month. Seasonal or temporary returns are somewhat longer, but still involve a remigration. Permanent returnees settle in the region for life. Seasonal migrants are just as important to this study as permanent residents are because these returnees share many of the characteristics of permanent returnees. The act of seasonal return is also a step toward permanent return, because it may be an indication of a desire to return. These summer returnees share with permanent returnees a connection to the local economy, their families, and social networks. Seasonal residents can become permanent residents when and if the local economic conditions shift to allow the area to handle more residents.

Most studies of return migration focus on, or at least address, the economic issues and impacts surrounding return migration. There are two main avenues of inquiry. The first examines the types of marketable skills that return migrants bring to the region and how those skills are used in the local economy (King, 1986:18, Wiest, 1979:173, Gmelch, 1980:147). There are a number of factors that control this. The first is the capacity of the migrant or a group of migrants to be innovators; that is, the context which would or would not allow return migrants to impart skills or knowledge to the community for its general improvement. King (1986:18) points out some of the factors, such as the number of returnees, the rate of return, the duration of absence of returnees, the social class of the returnees, the kinds of skills acquired, and the

level of organization of the return. Gmelch (1980:152) also states that the social, political and technological context of the local area can be an important factor in determining to what degree return migrants are able to be innovative. Migrants with more general knowledge and skills that they can teach, migrants who have not been integrated into the host society, and people considered to be “local” despite their temporary absence are more likely to be an innovative force. This is because they are perceived as being “one of us”, and trustworthy because of familiarity.

Evidence for any substantial economic gains for the region brought by the return migrants is limited. Cash remittances from migrants with intentions to return can be an important part of regional economic development (Alvarez, 1967:115, Gmelch 1992:276). However, in a region like the Swan Valley, where remittances are not needed to sustain the extended family, the region may see little or no economic benefit of outmigration except as a kind of “pressure release” on the local capacity to hire labour. Wiest points out in a summary and critique of articles by anthropologists on return migration (1979:183) that areas of origin receive few benefits from migration or return migration, but the mobile labour force that originated from those rural communities is necessary for the maintenance and growth of industrial centers. Rural centers tend to have growing population rates that exceed the employment needs of local businesses, creating a cycle of dependence on employment opportunities from the cities to control rampant unemployment in rural regions.

Return migration has also been analyzed in terms of success or failure of the migrants (Gmelch, 1980:141, King, 1986:17, Alvarez, 1967:110-112).

However, the problem with using this to measure rates of return is that the standards for the terms “success” or “failure” are difficult to compare cross-culturally. The income sufficient to support an individual or family in one region or country might not be sufficient in another, due to such things as living costs, informal economy, family support, and subsistence food production. The people of a place of origin, the individual, and the host society can also have very different perceptions of how success and failure are defined. A return migrant may have had “success” in making new friends or finding a mate in the host region, but may not have had financial success. A definition of success or failure is not impossible, but in terms of operationalizing it in order to make cross-cultural comparison, it is beyond the scope of this research. The comparative element of this thesis will therefore attempt to use a number of other criteria for comparison, including but not limited to an economic analysis.

Several authors writing from an anthropological perspective have pointed out the deficiencies in the anthropological literature on return migration. Wiest (1979:183) points to a number of areas where more detailed facts and better analysis are urgently needed. These include the need for more study of social structure and class in communities of origin, the impact of return on non-migrants, return migration of the wealthy, ideology and decision-making models, and the exploitative nature of migratory labour. King (1986:28) points to the links between return migrants and development issues. Gmelch (1980:155) claims that a focus on case studies means that there is a lack of general theory to explain universal processes of return migration. Similarly,

little is known of the effects of return migration on individuals. Gmelch also points out that the social and ecological contexts of regions experiencing return migration are not considered. These social and ecological contexts (for example, a long drought or social upheaval) can have a substantial effect on the migration/return decision making process (1980:156). Consideration of problems for women and children in the migration and return process is also ignored.

One of the problems of searching through the literature on return migration is that there are few studies on internal migration and return. Studies of international return migration far outweigh the number written on internal migration. "Internal return migration has tended to be left aside as a topic for investigation" (King, 1986:9). Another problem with past research is that most of the North American studies of return migration are "desk studies" with data taken from official data sets, but not based upon any fieldwork. In Canada, census data are collected every five years, which tells us little about seasonal or temporary migrations between host and home regions that happen between census years. Fieldwork is therefore a necessary part of studying return migration.

Although accurately gauging the number of return migrants in an area like the Swan Valley is very difficult, there is evidence that return migration flows can be substantial. From 1968 to 1971 urban-to-rural migration rates in Canada were almost at three percent of the population (Grant and Vanderkamp, 1976:17). Ledent (1990:48) points out that the 1981 census indicated that of every 1000 residents of Canada from 1976 to 1981, 207

migrated to a different municipality and 53 migrated out of province. Richling (1984:237) found in 1979 that over half of the out-of-province migrants from Newfoundland returned. Alvarez (1967:125) points out that return migration in rural Puerto Rico in 1960 was up to 4% of the population. Return migration rates in some remote villages in India are almost half of outmigration rates (Yadava, et al., 1995:79). Up to twelve percent of interstate migrants in the United States return to their home state (White, 1990:347). These studies imply that the number of people returning worldwide from cities to rural areas of origin could be significant.

Industrialized centers can pull young people from rural areas by providing jobs or higher education, and this helps to alleviate employment problems in the rural areas. Industrialized centers may need that pool of mobile labour to survive. However great the attraction of cities, a portion of their migrants return to the region of origin with various intentions. The opportunity for employment in the community of origin may only be a minimum condition, and not the primary motivation, to return. What we wish to understand is the kind of decision making model that migrants use to assess the possibility of return. Understanding how people see these issues will lead us to many answers to the questions in section two of this chapter. The most effective way to address these questions may be by doing fieldwork and analyzing the data using holistic and comparative approaches.

Case Studies and Their Implications

As mentioned earlier, much of the work on return migration has been in the form of case studies, often using census or other sources of published data rather than a fieldwork approach. Although regional and national case studies on migration are common, much less attention has been paid to return migration. The following is a brief critical overview of some of the case studies that have been published.

We will begin with some case studies from Latin America. A review of the relevant literature shows that research has been focused on those countries closest to American, Canadian, and European labour markets, namely the Central American countries and the Caribbean Islands. Ecuador is one exception (Palacios, 1992: 95-97). 1974 census data shows that urban to rural migration represented 11 to 31 percent of the migration in various parts of Ecuador at this time. The other forms, rural-to-rural, urban-to-urban, and rural-to-urban migration, make up the remainder. By the 1982 census, the urban-to-rural figures had risen to 17 to 43 percent of migration in the various provinces. Unfortunately, Palacios does not attempt to account for this incredibly high flow of individuals from urban to rural areas. Some of these migrants could be return migrants.

Maxine Margolis, in her book *An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York City*, points out that many of the immigrants from that country to the United States intend to return to Brazil to make a life there (1997: 114). The intention is to stay in the United States just long enough to make enough money to live comfortably back in Brazil. She characterizes the Brazilian migrants as having

their heads in two places. The United States can fulfill their material needs, and if they are fortunate, also their dreams. However, only Brazil can fulfill their emotional needs and desire for the support of family. By maintaining language, communication with family, and contact with Brazilian news and popular media, Brazilians in New York do not become “too American”. Remittances are very important, and are intended for use when the migrant returns as much as for support of parents, spouses, or children. Margolis indicated that over half of the Brazilians she spoke to intended to return to Brazil. Those that did not intend to return upon migration tended to stay away longer, and became more integrated into American society. For those that would like to return, the intended time of return is based on the expectation that economic factors in Brazil would improve (1997:119). Margolis’ research gives a clear indication of the clash between economics and ideology in the migration and return decisions, and it is clear that financial considerations are not the only or even the most determining ones.

Gmelch’s *Double Passage* (1992) examines, in their own words, the experiences of return migrants from Barbados. Gmelch points out that for migrants from Barbados, return is the logical endpoint to the migration experience (1992: 285). Most migrants from Barbados leave with the intention to return, their goal being the accumulation of enough money to live comfortably back on the island, or to attain certain financial goals. Only 9% of migrants do not intend to return to Barbados. Those migrants that did manage to return were only able to do so because of an upswing in the economy of the island in the late 1960s. Jobs, as well as American style goods and services,

then became much more prevalent, leading to an increase in return migration and the highest rate of return in the region.

Mexico's seasonal migrants to the United States have been the focus of a number of studies (Reichert, 1978; Wiest, 1979). Focusing on the effects of seasonal migration on the development in the region of origin, these two studies show that migrants tend to return more financially well-off than when they left. However, the money they make and save from working in the United States is rarely used to develop the local economy. Reichert (1978:59) points out that money earned in the United States is most often used to buy houses, furnishings, cars, clothing, and occasionally land. That land, however, is seldom cultivated by the migrant land owners. Wiest (1979:87) points out that while seasonal migration to the United States is seen as being beneficial, at least for the migrants, the effects this migration has on development in the region of origin are limited, and largely negative. Recurrent migration leads to dependence on migration to sustain the local economy without fixing the underlying problems of land shortage, lack of credit, and absence of local industry (Wiest, 1979:94).

A somewhat different set of circumstances shapes return migration in Europe. Lewis and Williams' paper on return migration in Portugal (1986:100-128) points out that in the 1970s and 80s, migration streams to North America decreased in favor of an increase in migration to Northern Europe. By comparing the economic activities of return migrants from North America and Northern Europe to the economic activities of non-migrants in different parts of Portugal, Lewis and Williams hoped to show the complex relationships

between migrants, the sending society, and the host society, and the implications for regional development. What they found was that the areas that experienced the most outmigration were the less developed areas, where good paying jobs were scarce. However, migrants that returned or migrants that sent remittances did not make enough of an impact on development of the sending region to make a difference to subsequent generations in terms of availability of good jobs. The authors also point out that the expectations of the people of the sending region about the behaviour of returnees can be a significant factor in how returnees use their money once they return. When there are locally delineated limitations placed on the types of capital expenditures that can be made, it can be very difficult for returnees to start any new enterprises.

Caroline Brettell (1979:1) also examines Portuguese return migration, this time from France. Her study deals with return migration in reference to the initial migration decision, and how the initial migration decision affects migrants' behaviour (1979: 1). The entire migration experience is shaped by expectation, based on knowledge from other returnees, popular media, and limited research. Brettell quotes Philpott (1979: 2), in stating, "Every migrant carries ideas as to the nature and goals of his migration, a cognitive model . . . an ideology". In Portugal, one example is that of the idealized "Brazileiro", the return migrant from Brazil. It was common in the 19th century for young men that had spent time in Brazil to return to Portugal, displaying their newfound wealth conspicuously. This practice became so widespread that it became a model for first time migrants in terms of behaviour both during migration and

upon the migrants' return. The emphasis on a display of wealth upon return acts to perpetuate the desire for young people to migrate, in order to gain not only wealth, but also prestige. Brettell points out that emigration is a way for Portuguese to move up the local social ladder by using resources from outside of their own social system. Although many migrants end up staying in France for very long periods, or even permanently, most make preparations and have the intentions to return, even going so far as to register their children born in France as Portuguese citizens. An important theoretical contribution of this study is to show that return migrants may have little choice both in returning, and the form that their behaviour must take upon return.

Klausa Unger's (1986) study in Greece of the effects of the sending area on migrants in light of their eventual return is instructive of the effects that the area of origin has on individual migrants in their decisions to migrate and return. Those migrants from areas where education and job opportunities were low were more likely to send remittances to support a family, whereas those from areas with higher levels of education and job opportunities were more likely to use their savings for the purchase of a new house or business (Unger, 1986:147). Migrants generally worked in the host area at a level of socioeconomic status associated closely with their socioeconomic status in the region or nation of origin before migration.

George Gmelch examined the reintegration of return migrants into their hometowns and villages in Western Ireland (1983,1986). The economy of the western region, the poorest area of Ireland, is based on mixed farming, with some manufacturing, but not enough to keep up with the growth of the rural

population. This leads to very large numbers of young migrants (average age 22 years) out of the region, into Irish cities, into England, and into the United States, searching for work (Gmelch, 1983:49). Over 70% of the returnees questioned in Gmelch's study based their motivation to migrate on economic factors (1986: 153). However, the main reasons for return were patriotic or social pull (55%), familial or personal pull(41%). Economic or occupational pulls only influenced 16% of returnees (Gmelch, 1983:51). In his interviews with returnees, Gmelch found that at the end of their first year after returning, over half were unsatisfied with their move. After the second year, that number decreased to only one-fifth. Those returnees that were interviewed found that the slower pace of life, the lack of access to goods and services, limited job opportunities, the limited world view of non-migrants, small-town gossip, and problems reestablishing old relationships were the main difficulties of reintegrating into their towns of origin. Those that were the most satisfied by their return were those that were also most satisfied with job, home, and social life (Gmelch, 1986: 164). It seems that return migrants had little impact on the area of origin. Money saved from overseas work usually went toward the purchase of a house or a small business, usually a bar or corner store, only occasionally creating jobs. Few non-migrants could think of any major changes or innovations that had been brought to the community by returnees. Gmelch reports that the conservative nature of Irish society makes return migrants feel that they must conform in order to be accepted back into local social life. He does point out, however, that return migrants can act as promoters of

emigration, if not by communicating their perceptions of the benefits of living elsewhere, then just by a display of their wealth and worldly ways (1986:168).

Robert Rhoades (1979b) and Merrill McLane(1979) have both undertaken researches on return migration in Spain. Rhoades explores Spanish migration to Germany. The people of the village studied are in demand in German factories because of their high level of education. Although their jobs there are lucrative, almost 40% return. The most obvious change to the village because of migration was the movement from cave dwellings to German style houses. Returnees also invested in small businesses, but the market for these types of business was becoming saturated at the time of the research. This would both restrict further investment and make some of the established businesses less tenable. The interest in running businesses is a response to the returnees' perception of farm labour as degrading, despite the fact that many had been farmers or farm labourers before migrating.

McLane's study is much different in that she looks at a marginal section of the population, the Gypsies of Spain. Up to the 1960s this group, highly protective of its own culture, relied on the horse trade and seasonal farm labour to make a living. As their traditional sources of income disappeared due to the mechanization of farms, some were forced to emigrate. Northern Spain, Germany, and Switzerland were popular destinations. Rural gypsies tend to migrate internally, whereas urban gypsies tend to go to Germany or Switzerland. McLane examined how returnees dispose of their income, much as some of the other studies. In this case, money is used primarily for consumer goods. Unlike the other case studies, however, the Gypsies that return use any

money saved up to buy clothing, and then furniture. It is less likely that money will be spend on more expensive items, such as cars, or investments in businesses. Improving at least the appearance of houses or caves is very important to them. Some have even begun to purchase land, which McLane points out is very uncharacteristic for the Gypsies. Another interesting element to this study is that McLane examines how non-Gypsy locals respond to the returnee Gypsies, who often have enough money to be wealthier than local non-Gypsies. The newly wealthy Gypsies are not perceived as a threat by the other people of the area, because they are not in direct competition with them for jobs of any kind (only land), and they are not socially ambitious.

Sharlene Janice Hesse-Biber's book *Migrants as Actors* (1981) examines migration and return in a rural coastal village in Sweden, focusing on an emic, or psychological perspective. A list of reasons for people to return migrate was topped by poor housing in the host location (54%), then lack of jobs (44%), family reasons (25%), followed by claims that cities were too large, that there was a lack of activities, that migrants lacked social contacts, and that among returnees there was a general dislike of cities (Hesse-Biber, 1981:118). Hesse-Biber recognized other forces that could be factors in influencing return, such as migrants being misinformed about work opportunities and housing opportunities. She also pointed out that some returnees lacked good judgement about the migration decision. However, having "good judgement", which she did not define, is not the only guide to success.

According to Hesse-Biber's study, the largest percentage of returnees were between 20 and 24 years old. All of the returnees were familiar with the

host area before migration, so misinformation about the host area would not be a factor in return in this case. 50% returned within three years, and almost 75% returned within 10 years. 73% were single when they left, but only 30% upon return. Returnees relied on relatives to find them jobs and places to live, and many indicated a preference for being with family and living in a nice place over finding lucrative or fulfilling jobs. Most returnees listed a number of reasons for their return, but only 36% said that they returned because they had work in the region of origin. The social and physical environment was not mentioned as a reason for leaving, but 30% mentioned it as a reason to return. Hesse-Biber reports that the majority of returnees went home to visit at least every second weekend, whereas only 13% of non-returnees visited with the same frequency. While in the city, returnees also spent more time with people from their hometown than did non-returnees.

A number of studies have been completed throughout Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Yadava, Yadava, and Sinha have analyzed return migration in India (1995). In a country like India where urban unemployment rates are very high, urban to rural migration is seen as a release from labour pressure in urban centers. Yadava, Yadava and Sinha's case study focuses on a province of India called Uttar Pradesh, which during the 1978-1990 study period had an average return migration rate of 3.4%. Outmigration rates, depending on the size of settlement, run from 8.8% to 5.7%. The average age of return was 32 years. However, the average age was different among settlements of different sizes. When compared, average ages of returnees varied widely between remote rural settlements, growth centers, and semi-urban regions, the age of returnees to

remote rural areas being the highest. The most common reasons given for return were illness, dissatisfaction with or inability to find a job, retirement, family breakup, and acquisition of farmland.

Findlay and Samha (1985) examined return migration to Jordan in 1984. During the late 1960s and through the 1970s many Jordanians left the country to pursue work in various nearby oil-producing countries. In the 1980s the need for oil workers diminished, and many of them returned home to Jordan. The study determined that returns were more likely based on when migration occurred, rather than the location of the regions of origin of migrants. As in other studies, remittances were sent to family in the region of origin, but to keep in trust for the migrants rather than to spend. These "remittances" were used by the migrants upon return for expensive items such as houses and cars, for the use of the returnee and his or her family, either spouse and dependents or the extended family unit. The money was seldom used to help to develop the local economy. The largest visible change attributed to return migration is a significant increase in the number of new dwellings built in the capital city of Amman.

In Korea, rural to urban migration has reached such proportions that the rate of urban population increase is overcoming the ability of government administrators to handle it. The government has therefore adopted a policy of encouraging individuals and businesses to relocate in smaller centers. The result is a significant flow of migrants to rural areas. The purpose of a study by Choi (1984) was to observe return migration in terms of its implication for rural development in a developing country. Return migration rates in various regions

of the country were between two and four percent (Choi, 1984: 33). Return migrants tended to be a few years younger at their time of migration than non-return migrants. Half of the returnees had migrated to attain further education, compared to only 18% of non-returnees. 80% of non-returnees had migrated to obtain a job or to follow the head of the household, whereas only 40% of returnees had migrated for work, and only 4% had followed the head of the household (Choi, 1984: 44). Fewer returnees than non-returnees had visited a city within a year before moving there. Visits to a city are usually made for the purpose of visiting family, suggesting the probability of chain migration. Chain migration occurs when previous migrants provide information to potential migrants and encourage migration to a city. The most common reason given for migrating was a job (Choi, 1984:48). Returnees also mentioned employment as a reason for return, but it was a less significant reason for return than it was a reason for the initial migration (Choi, 1984:48). Choi found that the number of linkages that migrants retain with their hometowns have a bearing on return. Some factors that keep non-returnees in cities include owning a house, involvement with clubs or organizations in a city, marital status, and familiarity with city before migration. Choi found that financial failure was not a significant factor in predicting who would return. Returnees ranked higher than non-returnees in terms of education and income. If opportunities for employment are available in the region of origin, it is more likely that migrants who are young, single, more educated and more skilled will be inclined to return. Obviously, the type of jobs available is also a significant factor. Those that acquire skills, attain more education, and bring back money

from the city tend to have more success with increasing their socioeconomic status upon return. Choi found no evidence that returnees were able to make a considerable contribution to economic development of their hometowns after return (1984: 86).

Choi created a profile of the average return migrant. Return migrants were young and unmarried when they migrated, they had more education and had more experience with urban life, but had less knowledge about that city when they entered it than non-returnees. Most maintained strong personal ties to their hometown. Before migration to a city, the socioeconomic status of return migrants had usually been higher than that of non-returnees. Returnees were less likely to own their accommodations or be part of organizations in the city.

The studies most relevant to the Swan Valley case study are North American studies. In the United States, the rates of migrants returning to their states of origin ranges from 3⁰% to 34⁰% per year (White, 1990:347). At the interstate scale, return migrants account for about 20⁰% of total migration into each state. Some regions have as high return rates as 40 to 84⁰% (White, 1992:360). Hauren and Hauren (1990:183) present two hypotheses to explain the cause of return migration in the United States. The first is that return migration is just a reaction to a reversal of economic conditions, and the second is that return migrants are unsuccessful outmigrants. A reversal in economic conditions means that wages in the host region may go down, unemployment may go up, or new economic opportunities might present themselves in the region of origin. Those migrants that are economically unsuccessful may be so because of incorrect information about economic

prospects in the host region, or because they may have misjudged the benefits of migration.

Few studies of return migration have focused on Canada. Vanderkamp (1972:460) examined the size of return migration flows and time patterns of return in Canada for the period of 1966 to 1968. He found that about one fifth of migrants during those two years were returning to their area of origin. That figure is derived from data on migrants who moved away from the area of origin only one year before, so over a period of years one could expect the rate of return to be much higher. Vanderkamp's research suggests that the rate of return migration is correlated negatively with income in the host region, and is correlated positively with the income of the region of origin (1972:463). This means that return to regions that are economically stable is highest, and the migration from the same area is lowest. Vanderkamp points out, however, that economic stability or opportunity is not the only factor causing return migration. If Canada is divided in two parts, East and West, at the border between Ontario and Manitoba, the rate of return between these two parts is higher than between the provinces within them. This might imply some preference for elements of the lifestyle in the east or west of Canada that influences the migration decision beyond the simple consideration of economic gain.

One of the few case studies on return migration executed in Canada focuses on Newfoundland (Richling, 1984; Gmelch and Richling, 1986). Rates of return were found to be over 50% (Richling, 1984:237). The average age of departure for the initial migration was 22.5 years. Only about one in five

migrants planned to leave permanently (Gmelch, Richling, 1986:188). Almost three-quarters of the migrants went to places where they had friends or family, with nearly half joining siblings. Two thirds of the migrants were single, but only one third were single upon return. Of those that were married, either before or after return, 92% married someone from Newfoundland. These figures show that although migration is a necessary part of rural life in Newfoundland, ties with the people, their ways, and the places of Newfoundland, were very important to migrants.

While there some evidence that rates of return migration in Canada are linked to changes in wages (see Vanderkamp, above), Richling points out that for 90% of his sample, unemployment (or employment) abroad was not part of the reason to return. Returnees did not seem to be returning to Newfoundland because they felt that their chances of finding a job back in Newfoundland were better. In fact, half of the surveyed household heads reported being unemployed for at least part of the year since returning, which would indicate that they did not return because of improved economic conditions in Newfoundland (Richling, 1984: 237). So why did they return? Richling asserts that there are local cultural factors, such as locally held values, morals, and language that influence migration and return. He cites ignorance of these factors as a failing in macro-economic studies of return migration.

Since the 1960s, wage labour has become more important in rural Newfoundland as other types of non-cash income became less important. Sources of supplementary income, such as gardens, mixed farms, or fishing for subsistence were used less often, as government subsidies, such as family

allowances, were introduced into Newfoundland. Reliance on wage labour, coupled with a severe lack of employment, led the respondents of a 1979 survey to list looking for work as the main reason for migration (45.1%). Finding a better job or better pay was ranked first by 19.2%. In contrast, those who returned to Newfoundland cited as their main reason for return “patriotic-social pull” or local cultural factors in 67% of cases (Richling, 1984:243). Nearly half said that the desire to live near family was an important factor. Although there was a 30% unemployment rate among returnees, only 10% indicated their return was as a result of unemployment in the host region. Most returnees identify the rural lifestyle as more satisfying and desirable than any other. Natural surroundings, lack of crime, and proximity to family are all seen as beneficial, offsetting the lack of good wages. Most Newfoundlanders see the rural lifestyle as being important to their identity. The successful return migrants are those who accept that short-term work out of province is required to maintain themselves and family. At the same time, they are able to maintain their priorities and duties as a good Newfoundlander (Richling, 1984:247).

As in other parts of the world, return migrants do not seem to have a significant effect on the local economy. Gmelch and Richling point out that only about one-quarter of returnees bring back more than \$10,000, and this money is used primarily for housing (53%), living expenses upon return (27%), furniture and appliances (16%), and for a car (8%). Only in 9% of cases was it used to buy land, either for a house or as an investment, in 10% to start or expand a business, and in 4% of cases for a fishing boat or gear (Gmelch, Richling, 1986: 192). Because returnees are so numerous they are not given any

sort of special status, and because Newfoundlanders tend to prefer the outport (small fishing village) lifestyle over city life, they are often not inclined to promote mainland ideas and attitudes upon return (Gmelch, Richling, 1986:194).

There does not seem to be much unity of purpose in the direction of these case studies. The strongest similarity between them may be the recognition of the limitations of local economies to absorb the size of the rural labour pool, and that family life is an attraction that can overcome a reduction in potential income.

There are various ways to approach the study of return migration. Most of the previous studies of return migration have focused on individual migrant's experiences, on a case study of a town or small region, or have examined return migration on an international scale. The next section is a discussion of a number of approaches that have been used to study return migration.

Approaches: Macro, Micro, and Individual Approaches

There are essentially three approaches that have been used in return migration case studies. "Macro" and "micro" refer to distinct levels of data, analysis and interpretation based on scale. "Macro" level research often uses census data to understand behaviour at the regional or national level. In this case, that can refer to studies of international migration and return which are based on census data dealing with residence location. This information can be correlated with other factors that are measurable by a census, such as costs of housing, sex, age, and income. Demographic and economic studies of return

migration often focus on macro level research. That is, research undertaken from these perspectives do not deal with small towns or individuals, but often use national or even international census data to see trends or movements of people in reference to global historical and economic factors. Stillwell and Congdon point out that, “The macro data available from censuses and registers is the most suitable for evaluating the relationship between migration and changes in labour and housing markets for the purpose of migration forecasting” (1990:2). This kind of approach is characterized by the conspicuous absence of any interviews with migrants or returnees, but is very useful in comparing figures from various countries. Palacios’ brief examination of return migration in Ecuador used this approach, but he does not attempt to explain the forces causing return migration.

White (1990) and Hauren and Hauren (1990) both review return migration in the United States from a macro perspective, focusing on data collected from censuses and placing emphasis on an economic causation of return migration. Vanderkamp also looks at census data, this time for Canada, again emphasizing the economic causes of return migration. He does note, however, that there seems to be a consistently higher level of return across the East-West divide of Canada, a brief and insufficient recognition of the possibility of non-economic factors as causes of return migration.

Choi’s discussion of return migration, using census and survey data from a number of sources, is very thorough. Fortunately, Choi was able to use both national census data and two smaller surveys from studies that were focused on return migration. It is the interest of the Korean government in promoting

return migration that allowed these types of large-scale studies. Although Choi used a methodological approach typical of a macro perspective, he was able to use information that otherwise would have required a great deal of time and money to obtain in such quantity. He was therefore able to conduct a micro level analysis without conducting interviews.

A “micro” level analysis of return migration is more common in the preceding case studies, particularly in those conducted by anthropologists and sociologists. Micro theory, according to Stillwell and Congdon, “essentially relates to the processes underlying the ‘decision’ by a potential migrant to remain in a current residence or to migrate to another one”(1990:5). It also relates to an understanding of the factors that influence the migration and return decision. This approach means that the research often involves gathering accounts of migration and returns from the migrants themselves, lending a distinctively emic aspect to much of the data collected. This technique also requires that the scale of many case studies is small, usually restricted to one or two towns, villages, or ethnic groups within a country or region. Many of the case studies discussed earlier take this perspective.

A third approach is to view migration and return in terms of effects on individuals, such as homesickness, alienation, or other psychological effects. Although some of the case studies deal with these issues, it is not the central focus of any of the case studies detailed above. Grinberg and Grinberg, in their book *Psychological Perspectives on Migration and Exile* (1989), deal with the effects of migration and return on the individual from a psychoanalytic perspective. They point out that for potential returnees, a great deal of stress can come

from family members who would prefer to return home, as well as from the potential returnees' own feelings of homesickness (1989:178). A sense of alienation can develop for potential returnees, especially during visits home, when they realize that they no longer feel completely connected to their home region, but also do not feel that they have become integrated into the host region. Fear of return, of things having "gone bad" while they were away, can be very stressful for the migrant planning to return. Hope can lead to disappointment when returnees find that the surroundings and people have changed in their absence. They may also become "homesick" for elements of their lifestyle in the host region. From this perspective, the reasons for return are an inability to integrate into the host society, feelings of depression, homesickness, and eventually, a desire to return to a stable family support group.

Faist (1997:252), in a slightly different scheme, shows how studies of migration need to be approached with a combination of micro, "meso", and macro perspectives. The micro level is that of individual decision making, the meso level is the social relational context of a choice, and macro level includes structural opportunities and restraints, according to Faist. Individual decision making is based on the costs and benefits, uncertainty and risk, and the time-space situation of the potential migrant (Faist, 1997:252). The relational context is the set of networks or family relations that effect decision making. Structural opportunities and constraints are such things as political conditions, economic inequality, or immigration policies (Faist, 1997:258).

The Migration Cycle: A Holistic and Diachronic Perspective

Return migration is best understood by considering the factors that had caused and influenced the initial migration. Case study research would indicate that while economic concerns do shape the form and volume of migration and return, various other factors also play very important roles in regional variation of return migration. The ideologies of migration and return are not the same everywhere. One major factor to consider before examining migration itself is the effect of a shared ideology of migration and return. There can be pressure on the potential migrant to act in a certain way in the context of migration and return. This pressure can come from family, friends, local groups or subcultures, and the larger society. The pressure to conform to the concept of the ideal migrant and returnee can influence choice of destination, length of stay, whether or not remittances are sent, and behavior upon return.

A number of case studies show that the intent to return is a part of the migration ideology. Migration in some regions has become a means of gaining wealth and prestige in the area of origin, a way of using resources from outside the region to increase wealth and social status within the region of origin upon return. The migrants' motivation is not so much to become successful in the host area, as it is to use that region's economic prosperity to achieve economic and social goals at home.

An example of this is Margolis' research on Brazilians in New York. She found that most of the Brazilian migrants that she spoke to went to the United States with the intention to return to Brazil. The economic opportunities represented by migration to the United States were seen as a way to improve

the standard of living of the migrants and their families in Brazil (1997:114). Remittances to parents or spouses were sent by over half of her interviewees, and much of that money was being saved either to purchase land, or a house, or to start or expand a business. Half of the immigrants that Margolis interviewed intended to return to Brazil. Much of the return flow of migrants from New York to Brazil is made up of those who had achieved their economic goals in the United States and were returning to live and work in Brazil (Margolis, 1997:117).

If return is so important for migrants from some regions, how can those that do not return be explained? In many of the towns, villages, and cities where migration and return have been studied, migration has a long history. In some areas, a history of migration and return dates back decades or even centuries as a means for young men to make their fortune outside of a local economy that cannot support them. Unemployment is the primary cause of migration indicated in each of the case studies of migration and return. Unemployment acts as a “push”, a force that has a great deal of influence on the potential migrants’ decisions to migrate. There are other types of forces that “pull” the migrant from their region of origin. In the case of rural to urban migration, cities can hold a great deal of fascination and opportunity for the young person considering a move. Fast pace of life, access to jobs and education, consumer products, and social interaction are all “pull” factors. However, when the migrant is considering a return move, the “push” and “pull” factors are very different, and largely based on their experiences in the host area.

Theoretical Perspectives on the Causes and Effects of Migration and Return

Only a very few authors have attempted to make general statements about return migration. These attempts have been made to answer some of the same questions that will be discussed in this thesis. A few examples stand out. The first is an overview of the return migration literature by Raymond Wiest. In his essay "Anthropological Perspectives on Return Migration: A Critical Commentary" (1979), Wiest points out that the anthropological perspective has added much to the study of return migration, including understanding social networks and decision making, as well as placing migration and return in a global context. The focus of Wiest's essay is a critique of articles found in *Papers in Anthropology* (1979). Over time, the focus of research on return migration has turned from an emphasis on understanding acculturation, assimilation, and individual adjustment, to an analysis of the impact on the regions and towns to and from which people migrate (Wiest, 1979:169). At the macro level, return migration research focuses on the relationship between migration and capitalism, imbalance of wealth and power, and the effects on rural or economically marginal populations in a context of intense competition.

Some of the same factors that Philpott (1973) used to characterize the migration process, such as the pre-existing social structure, selectivity of migration, type of migration, migrant ideology, and migrant social organization, can also be used to characterize return. The ideology of return migration is important to understanding the form and duration of migration as well as

behaviour upon return. Case studies focus on forcible expulsion based on ethnicity or nationality, completion of objectives, special family needs, and nostalgia as common reasons given by returnees for their return. An emic perspective (one based on what an informant says or thinks) is important to understanding return migration, as it is a means of finding a pattern of return ideology. Intent to return (or not to return) is derived from a learned ideology.

The content of this ideology is based on a number of factors: the historical context of the strength or weakness of the local economy, domestic and other social interaction, knowledge about other locations, and information collected from returnees about potential host locations. In some regions of origin, high levels of migration over time can create an ideology of migration as a rite of passage (Wiest, 1979:171). Return, on the other hand, is an attempt by the migrant to gain some kind of emotional security with a familiar location and reference group (Wiest, 1979:171).

Wiest (1979:172) points out that some researchers (e. g. Rhoades, 1979a) argue that rural to urban migration acts as a release valve for social and political unrest in rural areas, that overseas migration can improve the national balance of payments, that migration is a source for new ideas and skills in rural areas once people return, and foreign earnings can be used to revitalize the rural sector. However, many of the case studies indicated that earnings are most often used to purchase consumer goods or to improve their status. Limited benefits are conveyed to the local economy in the form of construction operations or, infrequently, a new business venture (Wiest, 1979:172). Unless new opportunities present themselves, returnees are often unemployed or

underemployed. Although some returnees see the purchase of land as a priority, few are interested in becoming farmers again, especially if they were exposed to other types of labour during migration. When a rural area is not developed as a direct result of remittances, the people of that area can become dependant upon migration to increase or maintain a certain standard of living that they see as being desirable. Those that do return with money saved from migration do not seem to use that money to improve the state of the local rural economy.

Kearney's (1986) evaluation of anthropological studies of migration and development points to the important links between migration, return migration, and regional development. Seeing migration as a consequence of contemporary development problems (Kearney, 1986:331), he divides the approaches taken to these issues into three theoretical orientations; modernization, dependency and articulation. Modernization perspectives saw rural-to-urban migration as a necessary aspect of economic development, focusing on understanding how migrants adapted to urban life and how they transferred modern ideas to their rural areas of origin. Dependency orientations, according to Kearney (1986:339) mostly ignored effects to regions of origin to focus on extraction of surplus (including labour) from the periphery (in this case, rural regions). Articulation theories focus on the household as the main unit of study, placing more importance on gender issues, extended family ties, informal economy, and the ties between kin networks and employment opportunities (Kearney, 1986:344). The study of networks and relationships between micro and macro levels of analysis are key, Kearney

states, to understanding processes linking “traditional communities” and the developed world (1986:356).

Wiest distinguishes three different types of models at work in return migration research. Functionalist or Equilibrium models see migration as a means to restore balance between people and resources. Migrants take the strain off the local economy by moving to urban areas where labour is needed. Remittances restore balance of payments between nations, and ideas and skills brought back to rural areas boost living standards. This process simply supports the proletarianization of the rural workforce, draining the best and brightest workers from the rural sector to do wage labour in the cities.

Psychological approaches assume that migration is an individual decision, and ignore the underlying causes of migration, such as unemployment.

A historical-structuralist approach focuses on the impacts of capitalism, world labour markets, and the dependency relationship between urban centers and marginal, often rural, regions. Although Wiest favors this approach (1979: 183) it seems that an approach using a multi-level perspective would give the clearest indication of the causes and effects of migration and return.

Gmelch makes a distinction between migrants with regards to their intent to stay temporarily or permanently in the host region (1980:137). He further classifies returnees based on their success or failure in the host location. Gmelch points out, however, that many migrants do not decide before migration whether or not they will return, letting their migrant experience guide them in that decision.

Unfortunately, Gmelch does not distinguish causes and reasons for return under the heading “Motives for Return Migration”. However, he does point out that, although some writers focus on economic causes for return migration, there are more studies which focus on non-economic factors as the primary reasons for return (Gmelch, 1980:139). Strong family ties, ailing parents, love of homeland, and connections to friends are all listed as reasons for return. He concludes that “For many of these returnees, the social and cultural advantages of life in their native society outweighs the economic costs – the expense of moving and the decline in earning power – of returning” (1980:129). The beneficial social and cultural attributes of the region of origin, the “pull” factors, are considered by Gmelch to be more important than the “push” factors, or negative attributes of the host location. Gmelch deals with the problem of adaptation and readjustment of return migrants, a detailed summary of studies using the individual approach mentioned earlier. There are two elements here: the economic situation of migrants upon return, and the migrants’ perceptions of their own well being. Each of these approaches is important in gaining a holistic perspective of the returnees’ situation after return.

Gmelch also includes a detailed discussion of the impact of return migration on the region of origin. He echoes Wiest (1979), Rhoades (1979a), Reichert (1978), and others claiming that returnees introduce few new skills or technologies, tend to spend money on housing and consumer items, begin few new businesses, and they are unlikely to introduce a wealth of new ideas (1980:146-152). Returnees can induce chain migration, where success of

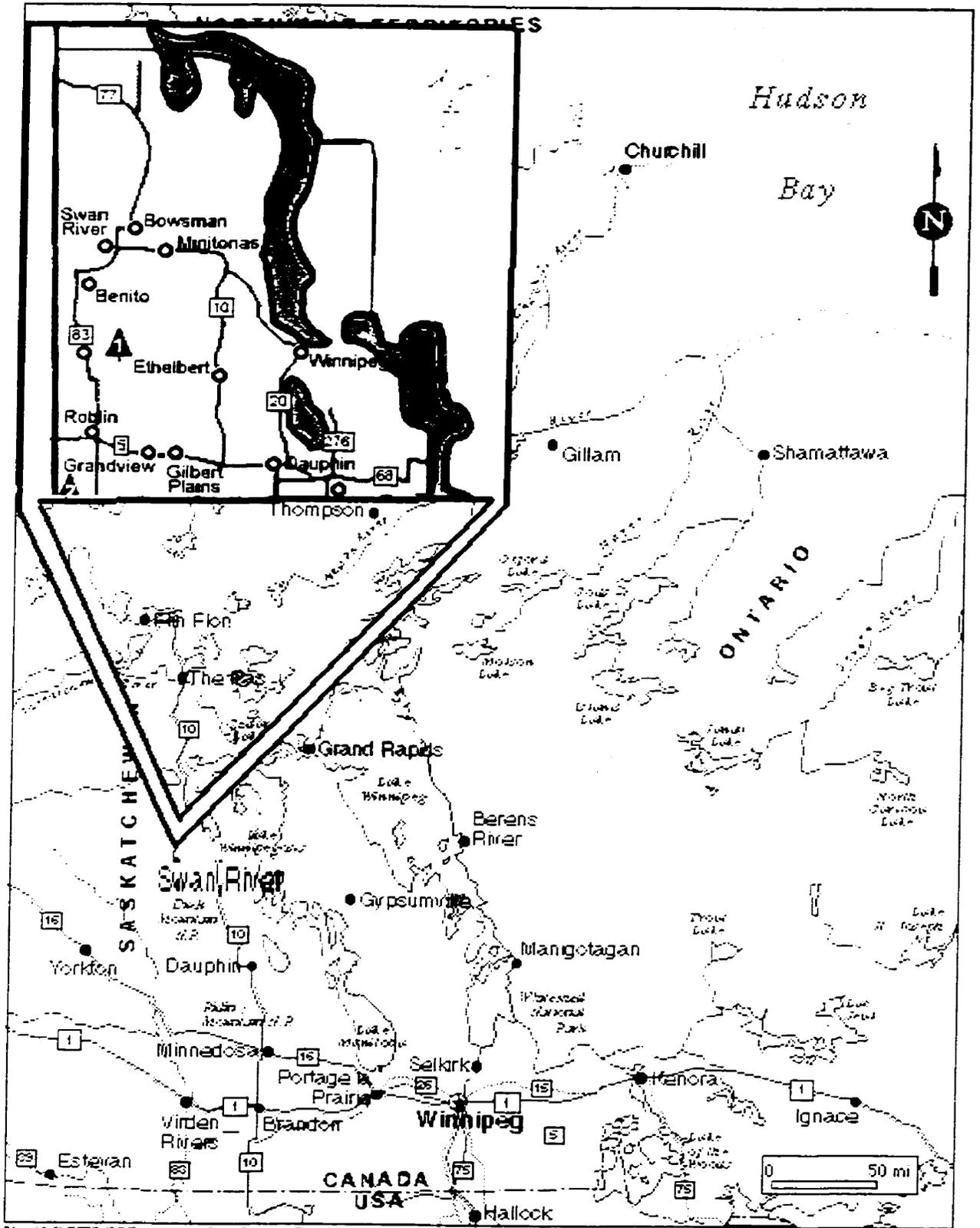
migrants is an impetus for local people to consider pursuing migration themselves. The most important contribution that Gmelch makes to the study of return migration is a critical discussion of how return migration is studied. To address these issues adequately we will need a multi-method approach. Statistical survey data are needed to establish the basic dimensions of the problem as well as to understand the range of variation and co-variation of factors. But equally important will be the intimate knowledge and insight that comes through participant-observation which will allow us to move from description to explanation (Gmelch, 1980:156).

Many aspects of the previous approaches and theoretical perspectives were in use during the study of return migration in the Swan River Valley.

Chapter 2: Introduction to the Swan Valley Case Study

The case study found in this thesis was conducted in the Swan Valley region of Manitoba. The Swan River Valley is situated in west central Manitoba, reaching just over the Manitoba - Saskatchewan border (Swan River Valley Historical Book Committee, 1978:1). It is situated between 51° 40' and 52° 20" North latitude and roughly 101° 00' to 120° 00' longitude west of the First Meridian (see Fig. 1). Swan Lake at the eastern end lies at 850 feet elevation above sea level, while within Saskatchewan elevations reach 1600 feet (488 metres) above sea level. The Duck and Porcupine Mountains rise to heights over 2700 feet (830 metres). Within Manitoba, a number of small towns and villages, including Swan River, Minitonas, Benito, Birch River and Bowsman are considered to be part of the Swan Valley, with the town of Swan River at the social and economic focal point, having the highest population. The earliest permanent settlement records for the area go back to 1898, when the valley was opened up for settlement and homesteading by the Canadian government (Swan Valley Survey Committee, 1914:8). Before this time, there had been a lively fur trade in the area built on the traditional hunting and gathering subsistence of the Native people of the area.

The fur trade in this area was vigorous, with numerous trading posts set up in the area through the 1700s and 1800s. White traders working for the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company saw the Swan River



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Figure 1

Valley as a perfect place to take advantage of the abundant fur-bearing game in the region, particularly the beaver. Another substantial draw for fur traders was the proximity to Plains Native groups, with whom they could trade for buffalo furs. When Rupert's Land, purchased from the Hudson Bay Company, became part of Canada in 1869, a plan was created to build a railway from the east to British Columbia. As the Canadian trans-national railway was being built across Manitoba, such locally produced and processed goods as sugar, salt and fish joined the flow of furs out of the area (Swan Valley Historical Society, 1985:14). By the late 1800s rail lines and telegraph wires were nearing the valley area. The railway approached the valley from the south, and in 1898 when the valley was opened for settlers the train ran only to the village of Cowan, 50km from the present site of the town of Swan River. Before government surveyors had even measured lots, abundant natural resources prompted an influx of settlers.

One of the first settlements was called Tent Town, because government offices were hastily set up in tents in order to keep record of the settlers entering the valley. This first settlement lasted only a few years, and was situated near the river a few miles from the current village of Minitonas (Twilley, no date: 39). Once the railway was extended in 1902 to the current town sites of Minitonas and Swan River, Tent Town was dismantled in favor of these sites serviced by train. At that time food, consumer goods, news and mail were all conveyed by the train, making proximity to the railway important to business owners and settlers alike. Very quickly, a number of settlements sprung up in the area. The land in the valley was rich and natural resources

such as wood, wild game, fish, and rich cropland were plentiful (Swan River Valley Historical Book Committee, 1978:3). Because the Swan Valley is on the divide of the Great Plains and the Parklands, farming, logging, ranching and fishing all became prosperous local industries. The valley is sheltered from poor weather by the Riding Mountains and Duck Mountains, allowing for pleasant weather and a longer growing season than might otherwise have characterized the area.

Throughout the first half of the 20th century the towns and villages of the valley grew and prospered. Only one year after the government began surveying homestead sites, the Valley had attracted 400 settlers. That same year a contingent of 1400 Doukhobors, a communalist religious sect from Russia entered the Swan river Valley, with most settling near Thunder Hill.

Rail and telegraph were the only means of transportation and communication to and from the Swan Valley in the early years. Telephones were introduced into the Swan Valley in 1913, and their use spread quickly. Throughout the 1910s and 1920s the roads and highways servicing the Swan Valley were slowly improved. During the Depression, construction of roads and highways were important elements of the make-work projects concocted by the government to give work to the many unemployed.

Today, eighteen different denominations of Christian religions are present in the Swan Valley. The diversity of religious affiliation can be attributed to the diverse origins of the people who came to that region from many countries all over the world. Most were Europeans from the north and eastern parts of the continent who, it was thought, would have a better chance

at surviving the harsh Manitoba winters. The ethnic heritages of the people of the area included Russian, Ukrainian, Czechoslovakian, Swedish, Icelandic, German, and Native (Swan Valley Historical Society, 1985:104, 114, 177, 269).

The First World War gave the first generation of young men born or raised in the valley their first chance to see the world beyond the confines of the valley (Swan Valley Historical Society, 1984:185). With a new perspective of the outside world, based on war experiences, many of the young men of the Swan Valley that survived the war may have chosen not to return to the Valley.

A 1914 survey of the Valley (Swan River Survey Committee: 48) shows that only 25% to 28% of young people in the valley wanted to be farmers, the most common occupation in the Swan Valley at the time.

Aside from a brief period during which there was an agricultural college in Swan River (1931-1946), young people were forced to go elsewhere to receive higher education. Many young men and women left the Swan Valley to get an education; some had the intention to return, while others found education to be the mechanism of escape from the Valley. After the Second World War, the population began to diminish in the area. This could most likely be attributed to the fact that some of the local soldiers who were not killed did not return after the war, preferring life in cities where manufacturing jobs were becoming increasingly available (For an examination of population trends in the Swan Valley, see Figure 2).

Today, farming is as important as it ever was in the Swan Valley, but the manpower once needed is no longer required, as more capital intensive mechanization is now in place. There are some manufacturing jobs, but much

of what is produced there is for the limited consumer market in the Valley. In 1995, a new industry was introduced to the area. Situated about three kilometers from the village of Minitonas (Manitoba Clean Air Commission, 1994:6), the Louisiana-Pacific strand-board plant has been at the center of controversy in Manitoba since speculation about its possible construction began in the early 1990s.

The Rural Development Institute in Brandon, Manitoba developed a report on the significance of the forest products industry in the Swan River Area in 1993. Approximately 270,000 to 350,000 cubic metres of wood were harvested each year in the area (Ruhr and Rounds, 1993: iii). The Louisiana-Pacific plant, which began operations in 1996, can utilize 735,000 tonnes of wood per year (Manitoba Clean Air Commission, 1994:10). Before the plant, about 324 persons were employed in logging in 1991-92. This means that about 3.8 percent of the area's workforce was employed in the forestry industry (Ruhr and Rounds, 1993: iii). Louisiana-Pacific now employs, either directly or through contractors, about 250 people, increasing the number of people employed in forestry in the area to over 500. This new factory promised an influx of money and jobs for the Valley, with assurances that Louisiana-Pacific would safeguard against pollution or environmental degradation of the Valley. This meant that the Swan River area had an opportunity that was, if not unique, at least quite rare in rural Manitoba. The Swan Valley area was promised an economic boost that was not a handout from the provincial government and would not rely on expensive borrowing of capital by the town of Swan River and nearby villages. The district involved expected money

coming into the valley in the form of purchases of goods, equipment, building supplies, and real wages for workers. However, questions are still raised by many concerning the future of the forest ecosystems of the region. The poor environmental record of Louisiana-Pacific at other sites where they had factories was not overlooked (Manitoba Clean Air Commission, 1994:35). However, the prospect of jobs and millions of tax dollars for the provincial government may have overshadowed concerns for the environment and health of this rural area. Therefore, the construction and operation of the factory went ahead.

The apparent new prosperity brought to the region also captured the interest of other investors and businesses that have sprung up around the area. New construction projects are everywhere, something that has not happened for a number of years in that area. In addition, as one might expect, all of those new projects mean new jobs, and new people. However, many of those new people are not new, but returnees. The population of Minitonas, the village closest to the Louisiana-Pacific plant, has seen an increase on population of 9.9% between 1991 and 1996. One can only assume that this trend in population increase will continue, at least for a short time.

At the present, censuses would indicate that the Swan Valley area had suffered from a population decline since after World War II. A 1990 profile of the Swan River Provincial Electoral Constituency reveals that between 1981 and 1986 the population of the region declined by 3.1 percent, from 18,150 to 17,590. In the individual towns, villages, and rural municipalities, population figures between 1986 and 1991 ranged from a decrease of 11 percent in the

village of Minitonas, to an decrease of 0.7% in the town of Swan River. The average decrease in population of the towns, villages, and rural municipalities was 5.65%. In the 1986 Canada Census figures, the population in the census divisions of the area had decreased by an average of 2.95% from 1981.

Census data from 1986 and 1991 show very clearly that the incidence of outmigration between the ages of twenty and thirty is very high. In 1991, none of the study areas (including the RM of Minitonas, the Village of Minitonas, the Town of Swan River, the RM of Swan River, Benito and Bowsman) had a higher number of 20-24 year old males than 15 to 19 year old males (See Figure 2). In the same areas, only the village of Minitonas and the village of Bowsman had more females in the 20-24 year old category than the 15-19 year old category. In some cases, the number of 20-24 year olds was dramatically lower than the 15-19 year old categories, up to 65% fewer individuals. This would indicate a very strong outmigration flow. The 1986 census data shows similar figures. It is interesting to note that the population figures for the 25-34 and 35-44 age categories tend to recover dramatically from the earlier age group, often up to and above the population figures for 15-19 year olds.

There is also a marked difference in population figures for men and women in these cohorts, or age groups. In the 1991 census, there are 360 males aged 15 to 19 for the Swan River area. In the next category, 20-24 year olds, there are only 235 males, a decrease of 35%. For females, these figures are 325 and 215, a difference of 33%. However, in the next age category, 25-29, the number of males is 245, an increase of 4%. For females, the figure is

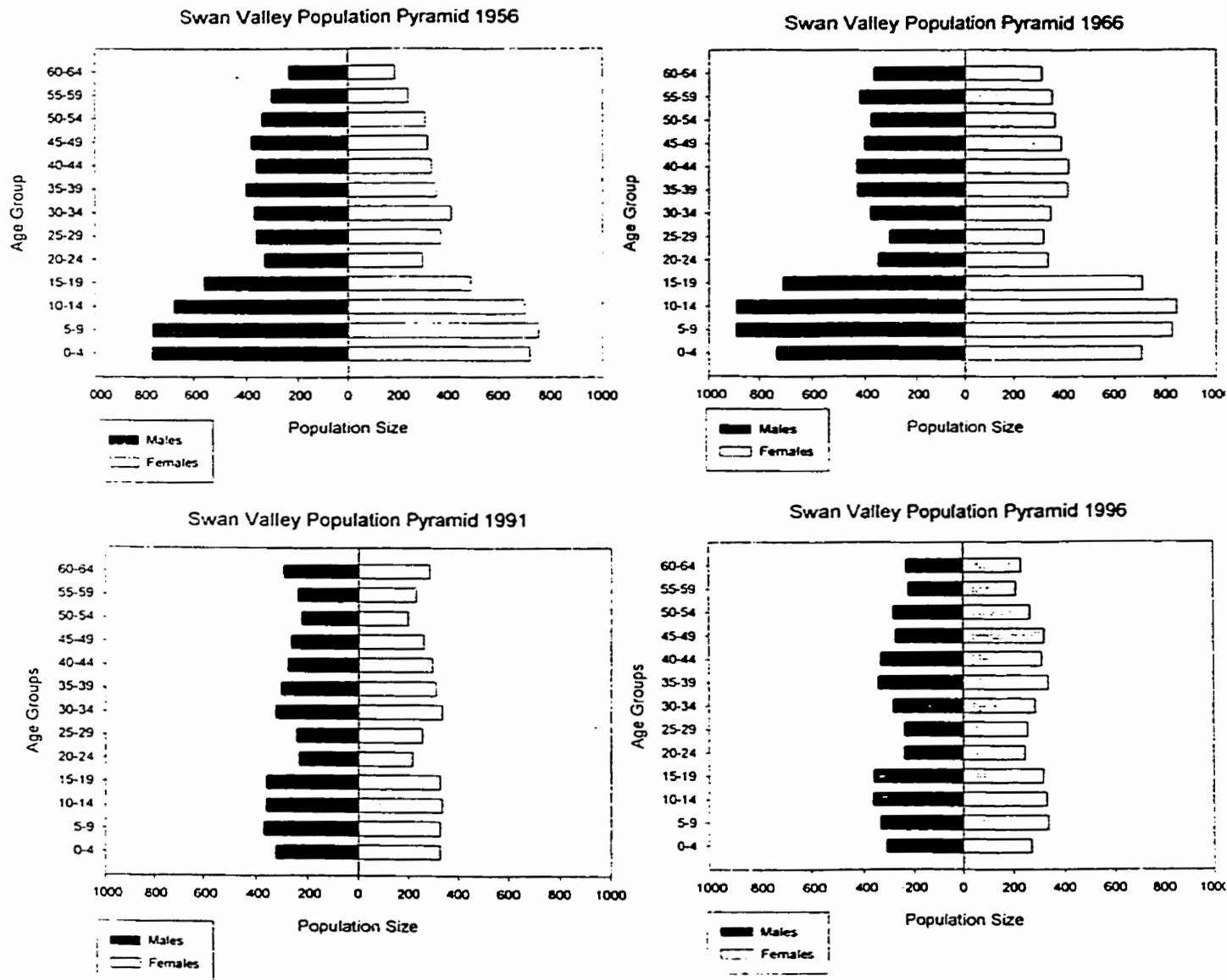


Figure 2. Sample population pyramids from the Swan River Valley region, 1956-1996

255, or an increase of 19%. This could indicate that more females are returning than males. The size of the next age group, 30-34 year old males have again increased their age representation to 325, an increase of 38% from the 20-24 age range. For females, the similar figure is 335 or 56% more than the number of 20-24 year old females. Although the census figures are not direct measures of the number of return migrants, they do indicate that the population figures are significantly lower for categories between ages 20 and 30. Figures for the population in their late twenties and early thirties rise again to close to the 15 to 19 year old figures. This may be an indication of migration and return. As new economic opportunities now appear in the Swan Valley, a number of individuals with ties to the area may return to take those new jobs and resettle in the area. Those returning for these jobs have had different kinds of experiences in their time away from the area. Many left the district originally to pursue studies at various universities, colleges or training centers across the Prairies or the rest of Canada. Many young men from the Swan River area head west to the oil fields of Alberta, enticed by the promise of high wages for unskilled labour. The new jobs for Louisiana-Pacific, with decent wages close to family, friends, and familiar social networks, are an attractive draw. The possibility of finding a job in the Swan Valley some time after migration is attractive for some, but stable employment may only be the minimum condition that pulls the migrant to return.

The conditions that make the Swan River Valley appropriate for a contemporary study of return migration are in place. The area has a long history of fluctuations in populations with the last few decades showing a

distinct trend toward outmigration. This will be useful to understanding the inclination towards outmigration from the region and the long history of a return migration ideology. The current influx of return migrants, coinciding with the appearance of new employment opportunities shows that an increase or decrease in local population may be linked to employment opportunities in the local area. The current influx of return migrants gave the researcher the opportunity to have contact with many of them. Because of my personal experience of growing up in the Swan Valley, I feel that I was able to increase my ability to build rapport with individuals in an area where I experienced my own upbringing. Many of the informants that I was able to contact were already familiar with me from prior contact. My sporadic residence in the area for the last eight years allowed me, to some extent, to create a new role for myself in the community, as well as giving me the advantage of unfamiliarity with a number of potential informants, so as not to bias the data gathered by interviewing only those individuals that were known to me previously.

Methodology

The fieldwork for this case study focused on gathering the experiences, ideas and beliefs that people of the Swan Valley have about return migration. In anthropology, there are two main ways in which this kind of information is gathered - through interviews and/or through participant observation. Two different kinds of interviews were used in this study, the formal interview, and the survey. The focus of this study is to make an examination of the migration and return cycle.

Ideally, migrants would be studied before departure from the area of origin, during migration, and after returning to the area of origin. However, time and budgetary constraints place such a long-term study out of the scope of this research. Intention to return (or not) to the region of origin is an important aspect of this thesis, so it was deemed appropriate to study potential migrants before they left the area of origin, and then to interview some individuals that had returned to the area of origin after a period of time away. Because of the time and resource limitations of this study, it was decided that the best way to collect data on potential migrants was to administer a survey. Originally intended to be administered before high school graduation, the survey was later sent out as a mail-in survey due to time limitations. Of one hundred survey questionnaires sent out, thirty-eight came back completed, in addition to one, without a signed consent form, which could not be used. In addition, interviews were conducted with nineteen returned migrants between the ages of 20 and 29 who had returned within the last five years. Limiting the sample to those that have returned within the last five years increases the chances of finding relationships or social networks between the return migrants. Interviewing only those who have made a recent return increases the chances of understanding the link between the recent changes in economic opportunities in the area, and the incidence of return. It also reduced the number of possible informants to interview so that time was not a constraint. It is also related to the sampling technique used to find returnees, which will be explained below.

Three main techniques were used to obtain data for the purposes of gaining a greater understanding of return migration in the Swan River area.

Data Collection Techniques

A. Survey

A survey was planned, to be administered to the graduating class of 1997 from the area's only high school, the Swan Valley Regional Secondary School. The purpose of the survey was to determine the attitudes and perceptions of the new graduates towards their community of origin. The survey was also designed to find out what kind of people would be leaving the Swan Valley, where they would be going, and whether they intend to return. The intention was to use the survey to give a kind of "before" picture of the migration/return cycle. The field survey was conducted as a mailed written survey due to the impossibility of doing an on-site survey with the target group. The target group comprised those students from the regional high school (Swan Valley Regional Secondary School) that had successfully completed their grade 12 diploma and were either entering the work force, were already part of the work force, or were planning to depart in the near future to pursue studies. The format of the survey was structured in order to give information about the following topics of interest.

1. Age, location of home, marital status, sex, size and composition of natal family unit.
2. Future plans including employment interests, future courses of study, long term plans, future locations of residence(s), either known and speculated/ideal.

3. Local group affiliations, including religious affiliations, sports or social clubs, volunteer interests, political groups.
4. Sets of open-ended questions about return migration to gauge perceptions of pros and cons about migration, what draws people away and what could make them return to the region.
5. Experiences and first hand associations with migration and return migration situations, friends or family that have migrated/returned, attitudes about costs/benefits to those that they know in terms of economic, educational, social/sexual, family relations, political, other opportunities.
6. The survey also gave respondents the opportunity to volunteer for more in-depth formal and informal interviews, depending on available time. Volunteers were also encouraged to ask others that they know to contact the researcher in order to conduct formal and informal interviews with return migrants.

B. Informal interviews

Informal interviews refer to most or all of the interviews conducted apart from a private, one-on-one situation either at the researchers office/home or at the home or other private area available to the informant. Informal interviews were conducted on work sites, and at such locations as bars, restaurants, private parties at residences or cottages, and outdoor events. Informal interviews did not include informants signing a consent form, but the full purpose of the research and the rights of the informant were explained within the limits of the context. The types of questions asked were similar to the survey questions, but focused on informants that have had some firsthand experience of return migration. Further questions focused on that experience, changes in attitude

about migration and return over time, as well as much as possible discussion of the forces at work in terms of community, education, family, and income.

C. Formal Interviews

Formal interviews were conducted in privacy at an office or the home of informants. A broad range of selected topics were covered dealing with migration, return migration and perception of interviewees on the forces at work that cause migration/return. A number of interview techniques were used to elicit data that can be used for later analysis. Techniques included:

Free listing - to determine the elements that drew migrants away from the community of origin, what factors were causing them to want to leave the new location(s), and the forces from within the community that were drawing them back.

Ranking - the types of elements that could cause someone to migrate/return. By such ranking, one can develop a clear picture of which factors are more or less important for people in terms of expenses, family, jobs, and life satisfaction in a variety of areas.

Life history - Five key informants were selected to do more in-depth interviews. These interviews were be used to obtain a life history of those informants in order to place the data collected into a context of comparison with a group of "typical" residents of the area who have had experience with return migration. Of special interest were the familial, religious, and other social aspects of key informants lives in order to see causal factors acting on the migrant aside from the economic or situation factors.

The Fieldwork

The fieldwork for this thesis was carried out during the last three weeks of August 1997, and the last two weeks of September 1997. During the first week, the mailed surveys were prepared and sent. The local newspaper, the *Swan River Star and Times*, ran an article on August 20, 1997, in reference to the research. Interviews were carried out during both periods of the fieldwork. The fieldwork data collected consists of thirty-seven surveys returned and nineteen interviews.

A spreadsheet program was used to code and analyze the survey results. The interviews have been transcribed from audiotape. A computer-based text analysis program, Ethnograph version 3.0, was used to codify and analyze the text of these interviews.

Chapter 3:

Factors in the Migration Decision for People in the Swan River Valley

Potential migrants must balance many factors when considering migration. For a young person considering migration, the possibilities are only limited by ability, and for some, money. In rural Manitoba, many of the same global forces that effect people in other countries or regions are important to understanding the choices that potential migrants might make.

In the Swan Valley, there are a number of factors that might act in “pushing” potential migrants to leave. The most powerful of these forces may be the unemployment rate. In 1991, the unemployment rates for males age 15 to 24 range from zero in the rural municipality of Minitonas and the village of Benito to 100% in the village of Minitonas. In the six towns, villages and rural municipalities, there are 2585 males over 15 years old available to participate in the workforce. Of those, 2425 were working at the time of the census, a 6.6% unemployment rate. However, when one examines the number of males between 15 and 24 in the potential labour force, one sees that the unemployment rate for this group is 45 out of 405, or 11%. The unemployment rate for all females is 6.5%, but the unemployment rate for females 15 to 24 is 13.3%. Another census, the 1990 provincial electoral constituency statistical profile, shows that while the overall unemployment rate in the Swan River area was 12.4%, the unemployment rate for males between 15 and 24 was 20.7%. For all females, the rate was 10%, but for 15 to 24 year

olds it was 18.1 percent. Although it is unlikely that most eighteen year olds are aware of the current local unemployment rate, they are aware that it is difficult to find a job in the Swan Valley. 28% of the total labour force is engaged in agricultural production. The next three categories of employment, health and social service (12.3%), education (6.3%), government services (5.9%), all require post-secondary education. Therefore, the choices are to work on a farm, or get some form of post secondary education, which still will not sufficiently guarantee employment in the Swan Valley. Obtaining some form of education requires that one leaves the Swan Valley.

Another important factor in the migration decision is access to a city lifestyle, and activities that are not available in rural areas. Work and education are very important “pull” factors, but young people are attracted to the kinds of social and entertainment opportunities only available in cities. Migration out of the Swan Valley might also act as a rite of passage for some young people. A long history of outmigration may have created a migration ideology that sees migration as an important step for young people entering adulthood.

Obtaining education is a very important objective for many young people in Swan Valley. For those not interested in farming or other non-skilled labour in the Valley, post-secondary education is a necessity. In the six areas there are 7310 individuals over the age of 15(E-stat, 1991). Of those, 895 have at least high school diplomas, and 2565 have at least some post-secondary education, including 650 with a university degree or certificate. This would indicate that education is considered very important by the people of the Swan

Valley area, and post-secondary education is an extension of a well-respected public school system.

The potential income of non-migrants may also be an important push factor of potential migrants. 1990 figures (Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, 1990:3) show that the average family income for the Swan River Valley area was \$23,501, only 66.2% of the Manitoba average. Average wages for males was \$14,233, only 66.2% of the provincial average. For females, income was lower at \$8,550 but was 72.4% of the provincial average of \$11,810. A low earning potential within the Swan Valley may therefore be another powerful force causing migration. The combination of push and pull factors results in a sizable outmigration of young people.

Survey Results

Economic and Sociocultural Differences Between Migrants and Non-Migrants

In this section, we will explore the factors that affect the probability that potential migrants will actually migrate. First, some general information about those surveyed. Out of one hundred questionnaires that were sent out, thirty-eight were returned: thirteen men and twenty-five women responded. Of those, almost half were from the town of Swan River, the rest from the various other villages and rural areas. Twenty-two of the respondents lived on farms, the rest in towns or villages. The average age of the respondents was eighteen. Only two had dependents.

There was a very strong indication that two of the push/pull factors mentioned above, namely income potential and access to education were very

influential in the lives of these potential migrants. Out of thirty-eight respondents, twenty-eight were employed at the time of the survey. Of those, there were only two who had semi-skilled jobs; one person was working in the public library, and the other was working for the local Internet provider. Of the twenty-eight employed individuals, only one indicated that she was doing what she wanted to do for a living. This would indicate that these young people either had not received the kind of training that they would require to obtain the desired job, or the type of job that they desired was not available in the Swan Valley. The desire for education as an end in itself and as a means of boosting earning potential is made evident by the fact that out of thirty-eight respondents, only one indicated lack of interest in pursuing some form of post-secondary education. Of those that indicated an interest in pursuing further education, the most common aspiration was to receive training in business or a trade (17/37). Others were interested in professional careers (9/37), academics (2/37), and religion (2/27). It is interesting to note that only three respondents were interested in pursuing studies in agriculture, representing only 11% of those considering higher studies. Either this could indicate that there is a low interest in farming among young people, or that those who do intend to pursue farming as a career have little interest or aptitude for formal education.

Thirty-two of the thirty eight respondents indicated that high pay was a priority when looking for a job or career, but only one placed it as the most important goal in life at the moment. Thirty-five of the respondents marked getting a satisfying job as a priority, with five marking it as the highest priority. This would indicate that for this group of young people, making money is a

priority that is balanced with the desire for meaningful and fulfilling employment.

Twenty of the thirty-eight respondents rated getting a job in the Swan Valley as a low priority, and two rated it as their lowest priority. This supports the figures for education. Thirty two out of thirty-eight rated education beyond high school as a priority, with two people rating it number one. Thirty-three rated university as a high priority, with fifteen respondents rating it ten out of ten on the survey. This could indicate a strong emphasis on education among the people of the Swan Valley. It could also be an indication not so much of young people's interest in education, but in an interest to use education as both a pretext and a mechanism to leave the Valley and attain both social and economic goals.

The survey results would indicate that there is an overall feeling among potential migrants that migration is a way of expanding their horizons. The perceived social benefits of exposure to city life and independence from family duties, such as farm chores, are very attractive. Much more important, however, are the possibilities of improving their economic situation, by either migrating to a region with more and higher paying forms of unskilled employment, or access to higher education. The primary cause of migration out the Swan Valley, then, could be said to be economic.

Assessment of Swan Valley by Potential Migrants

A major part of the survey for potential migrants was the section on community assessment. Respondents were asked to rate different elements of

life in the Swan Valley, including economic, social, geographical, political, and cultural factors. The purpose of this section of the survey was to learn how potential migrants view the Swan Valley as a place to live, and how that perception might affect their decision to migrate.

Economic factors include the stability of the local economy, the level of prosperity, the cost of living, the earning potential of the area, the availability of goods and services, the availability of modern facilities, and the diversity of the economic base. Twenty-two of thirty-eight respondents felt that the economy was somewhat stable to very stable. Only five believed that it was somewhat unstable to very unstable. Half of the respondents felt that the area was prosperous (19/38), although a large percentage (34%) was unsure. Only nine respondents indicated that they thought a person could make good money in the Swan Valley, whereas twenty felt that it was somewhat unlikely that a person could make good money in the Valley. None indicated a very strong feeling that a person could make a good wage in the Valley. 47% of the respondents felt that the local economy relies on one industry, farming. These responses could indicate uncertainty on the part of potential migrants about the local area's ability to provide employment that would be personally fulfilling and economically rewarding.

Twenty-four respondents indicated that they saw Swan River as being more residential than industrial. This figure corresponds to the number of people that saw the Swan Valley as clean rather than polluted. This could be an indication that potential migrants are effected by the local "pull" factor of clean environment. It is also unclear what respondents consider to be pollution.

Interviews with return migrants indicated that trash, farm chemicals, and particulate by-products from the Louisiana-Pacific plant are all perceived as pollution.

While there was no indication that potential migrants saw the cost of living as being very high, there was some indication that the quantity and quality of goods and services available to people in the Swan Valley was poor. Eighteen people indicated that they felt the quality and quantity of goods and services in the Swan Valley were somewhat inadequate to very inadequate. Eleven felt that goods and services were somewhat adequate to very adequate, but only two marked them as being very good. There was an even split in the perception of the Swan Valley as having or lacking modern facilities. Because “modern facilities” was not defined, this even split may be more a matter of differences in defining “modern facilities” than a matter of collective perception.

The final economic factor is also a social one. While 47% of respondents felt that people tend to stay in the Swan Valley, 29% were also unsure. This would indicate that although outmigration rates may be quite high, there is not consensus among potential migrants that there is a trend toward outmigration.

Questions about social elements of the Swan Valley include the perceived civility of the local people, the type and scope of social problems, the number of interesting people with whom to interact, the level of acceptance of new ideas, racism, the friendliness of local people, and the ratio of eligible males to females.

Only 21% of the respondents saw Swan River or the surrounding villages as rough towns. Residents do not perceive the area as a rough-and-tumble frontier town, but there is some indication that violent confrontations do occur. Although there is no strong indication that there is a perception of many social problems, interviews with return migrants and observation would indicate that alcohol use is prevalent. This alcohol use, which is invariably involved as a catalyst in physical confrontations between individuals, may be related to lack of economic opportunities, as well as a lack of recreational opportunities.

Although many respondents clearly did not understand the question labeling progressive and conservatism as opposites (seven no-responses, fourteen neutrals), those who did answer were evenly split on both sides. Return migrants had much more to say about this subject. 47% of respondents indicated that there was at least some racism to be found in the Swan Valley, usually leveled at the native population of the area. Some returnees saw these racist attitudes as indications of conservative attitudes, which will be discussed below.

63% of the respondents saw the people of the Swan Valley as being somewhat to very friendly. Although defining "friendly" is very difficult, in this case it might be better defined as "friendly familiarity". Because social ties can be so interwoven in small settlements like the town of Swan River and the surrounding villages, there is to some degree a form of public politeness that is adopted. An indication of this form of politeness can be seen in the responses to the question of whether or not there are interesting people in the area. 32%

of the respondents were neutral, an indication that they had no desire to offend anyone by saying that they were not interesting. Those who felt that local people were interesting or dull were evenly split, and only one person indicated that they felt extremely strongly that the people of the area were dull. The lack of strong response to this question could indicate a desire to be uncontroversial.

Romantic relationships are an important part of the human life cycle, and the respondents of the survey were split on the topic of male/female ratio. 32% felt that there was a favorable male to female ratio, 39% were neutral, 26% saw an unfavorable male/female ratio, and one person did not answer the question. The distribution of responses between the sexes was very similar. Although further study would be required, this might be a strong indicator of which potential migrants would marry someone from their own town or region. Overall, potential migrants do not seem averse to the prospect of having a relationship with someone from the Swan Valley area.

Geographical factors include transportation, accessibility, weather, and distance from a city. Respondants were largely indifferent about the weather in the area, with 45% giving neutral responses to the question of the weather. However, few potential migrants from the Swan Valley would have had experience with very different weather patterns in other regions. 50% of respondents felt that transportation was adequate to very good. 45% felt that the Swan Valley was adequately or very accessible from other parts of the Prairies. 34% saw it as isolated, but few felt it was very isolated. However, 63% felt that the Swan Valley was far from cities. Swan River is about two hundred

kilometers from both Dauphin, Manitoba and Yorkton, Saskatchewan, the two closest towns or cities of significantly larger size in the area. Brandon is approximately a four-hour drive away, and Winnipeg is about five-and-a-half hours away by car.

Respondents did not seem to be very aware of the place of the Swan Valley in provincial, federal, or regional politics, with only 37% recognizing the Swan River area as an important administrative center. Part of this lack of knowledge of local politics comes from the age of the respondents. When a group of individuals is directing their attention out of the community instead of on local issues, as the survey data seems to indicate, local politics do not become a major focus.

The results of this section of the survey would indicate that while there are some aspects of life in the Swan Valley that are considered to be good or desirable, there are other factors which might act as “push” factors. Potential migrants see the local economy as being stable, but not offering many different kinds of jobs, or the chance for substantially high wages. The respondents indicated that while people of the area are friendly, there is not a lot of diversity of ideas or lifestyles available in the rural setting.

There was a great deal of agreement among potential migrants on what elements they thought were positive about living in a small town or rural area. Twenty responses indicated that the friendliness of the people of the area was very attractive. Access to nature and the slow pace of life were also seen as being desirable. Low crime rates, low levels of pollution, and good public education were also mentioned as benefits of rural life.

When asked about their dislikes of living in a small town, the most common answer was that it was boring, or that there was not much to do (11 responses). Most of the answers dealt with the lack of leisure activities, access to goods and services, and cultural events. Only five responses were given which indicated that there were failings in the local economic situation which made the Swan Valley unattractive.

The respondents seemed to have a sense that Swan River is a desirable place to live in terms of the friendliness of the people, the lifestyle, and the recreation opportunities. However, they were more reluctant to praise the Swan Valley in terms of earning potential, diversity of available jobs, and the number and kind of available goods, services, and cultural events.

When asked about what they found attractive about cities, the overwhelming response dealt with the very factors that respondents felt were missing from the Swan Valley. Twenty-three responses mentioned the lack of entertainment or recreation facilities, including concerts, nightclubs, movies, professional sports, and the zoo. A close second, with twenty-one responses, was a concern for the lack of presence of shopping malls and restaurants. Other complaints referred to the poor variety of jobs, non-availability of higher education, and a lack of diversity of types of people and lifestyle choices.

It can clearly be seen that for potential migrants in the Swan Valley region, economic factors would be the strongest “push” factors. Limited access to goods and services, lack of educational opportunities, and low earning potential are also “push” factors. Conversely, urban lifestyle, higher earning potential, access to diverse goods and services, recreation, and education are all

“pull” factors which attract potential migrants to the cities. Overall, the respondents seem to have made clear assessments of the pros and cons of urban and rural life, and because of their age, are very interested in pursuing educational, economic, and social interests which can only be found outside of the region of origin.

The Migration and Location Decision

Respondents were asked to write about where they thought they would be in five years, in terms of place of residence, work, and family life. Ten respondents had no preference for where they would reside in five years. Five respondents (13%) indicated that they would like to be in Swan River in five years. Four respondents (11%) indicated a preference for somewhere like Swan River, a rural or small town setting. Seven indicated a preference for Winnipeg, and one for Brandon, the two largest cities in Manitoba. Other cities included Calgary (two responses), Toronto (1), and Saskatoon (1). Other locations mentioned were Nashville, Tennessee, “university”, another province, “a city in Canada, U.S., or Europe”, and Vancouver Island. Overall, fifteen responses (39% of the total, 54% of those with a preference) indicated that they wanted to be living in a city in five years. Such a high indication of preference for an urban location upon migration corresponds with the findings of the case study interviews: every return migrant spent time in a city, some in more than one.

In reference to where potential migrants would be working in five years, plans showed a strong diversity of desired careers. The most times a single career was mentioned was three. These were given by potential migrants

interested in the fields of entrepreneurship, agriculture, mechanics, and design.

Two respondents mentioned engineering, and early childhood education. Other responses included such diverse fields as music production, pharmacy, social work, banking, optometry, message therapy, hospital, government, sports management, retail and physiotherapy. Out of 38 responses, 45% were interested in professional careers. 61% of the possible careers mentioned would require some formal education beyond high school that could only be obtained outside of the Swan Valley.

Only three respondents said they thought that they might be married by that time; two of them thought that they might have a family. Only one person mentioned family alone, which would imply marriage and children. This limited response indicates that for potential migrants of this age, marriage or family are not priorities. 79% of respondents said that they would not consider living in the Swan Valley in five years. Only two said that they would consider moving back later in life, possibly after obtaining an education (respondents' educational interests were pharmacy and agriculture). 16% of respondents said that they would consider living in the Swan Valley for the rest of their lives, but also expressed a strong interest in obtaining further education that was not available in the Swan Valley. This would indicate that the Swan Valley is not a place that most potential migrants see as holding a great deal of potential for them in economic and social terms in the near future.

Choice of location and the decision making process were difficult to assess in this case study, because most of the respondents to the survey seemed to have a clear idea of where they would like to go and what they would like to

do there. When asked about their own possibility of migrating, 71% indicated that they would have a place to stay with friends or relatives if they decided to migrate, indicating that they had thought about destinations where friends or relatives were already established. 61% said that they knew someone outside the Swan Valley that could offer them a job, presumably either family members or friends. However, only 18% said that they had based their decision of where to go on where friends or family members were going, and only 21% on where friends or family members were already established. 58% said that their choice of destination was based on where they had been accepted for school. This could show that while family ties are acknowledged as being useful for both accommodation and job search, they are still ranked lower in importance than educational opportunities as a location decision factor. In fact, the number of people that made the location decision based on somewhere that they found “interesting” was only 10 out of 37 responses, or 27%. Education opportunities, then, ranked far above other factors as being most important in the location decision. However, there are other family matters to consider.

Family Influence on the Migration Decision

Extended family ties, as well the advice or example of migrants that are part of the potential migrants’ immediate family, both are factors in the migration and location decisions. Beyond the influence of these family members is the influence of those immediate family members, such as siblings, who have migrated before potential migrants. Only 16% of the survey respondents did not have someone in their immediate family who was a

migrant. 60% of the respondents had one or two members of their household who had migration experience, and who may have migrated permanently.

In order to assess the impact that family members' migration may have had on the potential migrant, a number of different questions were asked to assess the potential migrants' perceptions of how the migrants were affected by migration. While they conceded that the migrants often expressed feelings of homesickness (55%), the vast majority seemed to think that the migrants were successful in different areas of their lives. 97% of the respondents said that the migrants they knew were successful with both finding work, and finding decent housing. Only 39% of those migrants stayed with friends or family members in the host region. 10% indicated that the migrants had difficulty making friends in the host society, and 13% said that migrants did not have some type of romantic relationship, indicating that most migrants had active social lives and did not have much trouble integrating into social activities. 87% of the migrants were said to have been successful in obtaining education. Only 6% did not write or call home, and of those that did have communication with home, the majority (61%) called home at least once each week.

The picture of the migrants from the Swan Valley that this data creates is that they are able to find places to live, work and go to school with a high level of success. Family connections are important, but independence from family is also valued. Although these migrants are generally able to integrate themselves into the social networks of the host society, they make efforts to maintain connections with family and friends in the region of origin. They tend to suffer from homesickness or longing for the area of origin, whether it is because their

family is there, or friends, or because they are attracted to the lifestyle in the Swan River region. Remittances of money are not very important, but some migrants did send money home to family (18%), either for use by the family or as savings for future purchases by the migrants, possibly upon return.

In the case of the Swan Valley and the respondents to this survey, potential migrants have a positive view of the effects of migration on the migrant. They seem to perceive that migration usually means a degree of success in both economic and personal growth. They also see that maintaining ties to the area of origin is very important, and that a desire to return to the area of origin is normal and proper. It would seem while the desire to migrate and return is not as overtly encouraged as is described in some other case studies (see chapter 1), there is a fairly strong ideology of migration and to a lesser degree, an expectation to return.

Chapter 4: Migration and Return

Return migrants, and their reasons for return, are not easily characterized. There is no one factor that the Swan River return migrants indicated as their single reason for return. Rather, it is a complex set of related factors that seem to lead migrants to consider and undertake return migration.

The reasons that the return migrants gave for their initial migration mirrored very closely the reasons that the potential migrants who were surveyed gave for their desire to migrate. Out of the eighteen returnees interviewed, seven had obtained university degrees, eight had obtained college diplomas, five were part way through obtaining a university or college degree, and only one person did not receive any post-secondary education. The high percentage of returnees receiving some type of post-secondary education, 94%, corresponds closely with the 97% of potential migrants that indicated an interest in pursuing some form of post-secondary education.

Most of the interviewees indicated that they had realized in or before high school that education and employment opportunities in the Swan Valley area were limited. Although the returnees were not able to articulate cultural pressure to gain an education, one did remark, “If you are a D student, then people assume that you are not going to go [to school], but people just assume that you are going away to school, because it is just what is done”.

Education seems to be considered a means to a high-paying job, rather than just a goal in itself. The inability of the Swan Valley economy to support

all of the local work force is a strong motivation for potential migrants to gain an education. Ten of those returnees who completed post-secondary education were able to find jobs in the Swan Valley using their training in such fields as teaching, business administration, and massage therapy. All returnees were employed. This indicates that although all of the returnees were not able to find in the Swan Valley employment which would utilize their training, their level of education may have been an important factor in their being hired. For all of the return migrants, the primary reasons for the decision to migrate had been to attend some form of higher education and/or to attain a job with wages above the minimum.

Returnees also indicated other, non-economic reasons for their departure from the Valley. The career interests of potential migrants is related to the availability and type of jobs in the Swan Valley region. Several of the returnees were not able to find work in their chosen career while living in a host region. However, a number of returnees indicated that one reason that the city had been attractive to them as potential migrants was that the diversity of occupations available in cities was much greater than those in the Swan Valley.

Two returnees indicated that migration had been for them a way to gain independence from parents and other family members. In an area where the average family income was only 62% of the Manitoba average in 1986, financial independence of grown children may be an important element of maintenance of the local economy. In other words, potential migrants feel that they must achieve financial independence, which may be a factor in achieving status in the Swan Valley region. The desire for financial independence, coupled with a local

history of migration and a locally held ideology which sees migration as a positive experience, are at least partly impetuses for outmigration.

Two of the return migrants stated that they felt they had a sheltered upbringing, and had desired a change in lifestyle, which led them to migrate. Both of these individuals pointed to a very strict religious upbringing as the principal cause of the feeling of being sheltered. Of the eighteen interviewees, only five never went to church. Although thirteen grew up in religious households, only three claim currently to be regular churchgoers. Another reason for migration may have been to remove themselves from an affiliation with the religion of their parents, or religion in general. Religious affiliation was not mentioned by any returnees as a reason for return to the Swan Valley.

Sociocultural Integration and Alienation: The Push and Pull of Urban and Rural Lifestyles

While return migrants generally do not talk about sociocultural integration and alienation in those terms, they are aware of some of the problems of learning to fit in, making new friends, and beginning new relationships. In order to allow the returnees to express in their own words their experiences with loneliness, culture shock, alienation, and homesickness, all of the migrants were asked about stress during their migration experiences and subsequent return. Stress was defined as the feelings derived from a conflict in the actions and beliefs of the migrants or members of the host region, or elements of the lifestyle which were different (i.e., unfamiliar or unpleasant) from what the migrants had experienced before. Most of the

returnees described their initial migration out of the Swan Valley as somewhat stressful.

Although some of the returnees indicated that they felt that the initial migration was economically stressful, (I will return to this theme in below), they seemed to derive more stress from sociocultural factors. The easiest way to examine these factors is to divide them again into “push” and “pull” factors. These are the elements that migrants measure to determine if they should remain in the host society or return to the area of origin. For each area, push and pull factors are in place, which migrants use in decision making in a kind of comparative “pros vs. cons” for both areas. These pros and cons can then be balanced to make the decision that is right for them.

The initial destinations for migration of all of the Swan Valley returnees were urban regions . We will begin by examining some of the cities’ push and pull factors which affect sociocultural integration of migrants. Pull factors are those which either attracted potential migrants to the city, or elements of city life that migrants enjoyed once they were there. The two most important pre-migration urban pull factors for the Swan Valley returnees were education and employment opportunities. As mentioned earlier, 94%(17) of the returnees received some form of post-secondary education. The other returnee was able to obtain employment less than one week after moving from the Swan Valley to the host area. Because education is considered a means to higher paying employment, education and employment could be considered the two main considerations for the potential migrant from the Swan Valley.

Returnees have indicated other factors that they see as benefits of city living. The most popular factor after education and jobs is the variety of goods and services available in cities compared to the Swan Valley area. Most of the women and some of the men indicated that cities have a much broader array of consumer items, especially a diverse selection of fashionable clothing. Because all of the returnees were single at the time of their initial migration, entertainment and social interaction were also factors. Returnees cited such activities as movies, plays, concerts, museums, the planetarium, the zoo, nightclubs and restaurants as important forms of entertainment which are either lacking or are of low quality or limited quantity in the Swan Valley area. A number of people also referred to sporting activities, either spectator or participatory sports, for which the facilities are not available in the Swan Valley. These include professional hockey, baseball, and football, as well as such sports as racquetball, and squash, which require an indoor court.

Other “pull” factors for cities are social. Returnees recalled wanting to go to a city to meet different people, learn about different lifestyles, and to break away from what they consider to be the confines of rural culture. Returnees indicated that they felt that there would be more and various kinds of social interaction in a city, such as at nightclubs, that would allow them to meet different kinds of people and expand their social circles. As indicated earlier, some of the returnees also stated that while they were living at home before migrating they felt somewhat constricted by a strict religious upbringing. This led to a majority of those that had been raised in religious families to reject religion of any kind during migration and after return.

Most of the negative comments made by returnees about city life focused on the people. One common comment is that while people from rural areas learn a great deal about city life through the accounts of friends and family, as well as images from news and popular media, people from a city have little concept of life outside the city. Despite the greater access to information which is available in cities, as well as a generally higher income which could make travel easier, rural migrants to cities tend to find that “city people” are generally ignorant of many aspects of rural life. One returnee stated that he did not like that city people were so ignorant of the rural lifestyle, and that he played up his “country hick” image in order to manipulate them. By maintaining the front of the ignorant rural dweller, he was able to distance himself from people in the city, perhaps using his rural image to protect himself from uncomfortable social situations. Another returnee perceived the ignorance of rural lifestyle among city dwellers as being disrespectful. He felt that children raised in a rural setting were taught more respect, for both possessions of their own and others, as well as for people. Most returnees characterized rural dwellers as being more polite and friendlier than those in the city. One returnee put it this way; “You know, you would run into somebody at the bar or something and say ‘excuse me’, and the other guy would say ‘Fuck you’”.

Another element of social life in cities noted by returnees is that it is not necessary to be active socially. A number of returnees stated that they enjoyed a certain level of anonymity in a city that they could never have had in a small town like Swan River. Anonymity, however, did not seem to translate into

loneliness for the returnees who were interviewed. Not one of the eighteen interviewees complained of feeling lonely in the city. They were always able to contact friends from high school if they were in one of the three most popular destinations – Brandon or Winnipeg, Manitoba, or Red Deer, Alberta. Because so many people from the Swan Valley migrate to one (or more) of these three locations, all three contain at least a few former Swan Valley residents. Many of these former Swan River residents are about the same age as the migrants and are most likely known to them. Most of the returnees also called home to parents, from once a day to one or two times per month.

Several of the returnees admitted that they met few people from the city at first if they had a group of friends from the Swan Valley move to the same city as them at the same time. Many of these friendships were strongly maintained, and a number of dating relationships between people from the Swan Valley also began during the period of migration. One returnee felt that his strongest friendships were with those individuals in the city where he was living with whom he had gone to school since kindergarten in the Swan Valley. He also kept in contact with friends he had made in high school (the regional high school services a number of small towns and villages, while each has its own elementary and junior high schools). Another stated that he had made friends while going to school in Brandon, but that he had allowed those friendships to lapse, while maintaining strong ties to friends from the Swan Valley. A number of returnees pointed out that they had a difficult time making new friends in the city, especially when the people that they approached were long-time city dwellers. One returnee explained how he felt that, for the

most part, people with rural origins made friends with others of rural origin much more readily than with those that were raised in a city.

None of the returnees reported having few or no friends in the city, and some attributed being raised in a rural community with their ability to make friends easily. However, all of the return migrants indicated that they had at least some stress, whether it is economic or psychological, from the initial move away from the Swan Valley. Most kept in contact, some very closely, with friends and family from the Swan Valley. Many also made an effort to return home during holidays and special family events, as well as events such as wedding socials put on by engaged couples to raise money for a marriage. Frequent contact with friends and family in the Swan Valley, either in person or by telephone, may be one strong indicator of homesickness and possibly culture shock.

The rural area of origin, in this case, the Swan Valley, also has its push and pull factors. As mentioned earlier, a lack of educational and employment opportunities were cited as being the major forces that prompt migration out of the Swan Valley, both as a “pull” to a city and a “push” from the Swan Valley. Other factors mentioned by returnees for their initial migration included such things as a desire to gain independence, a way to escape a strict religious upbringing, a desire for anonymity, the desire for access to more diverse goods and services, and access to a more diverse and active social life. Most of these secondary goals relate closely to a general sense of a lack of various types of opportunities in the Swan Valley, be they economic or social. These social “push” factors are often cited by migrants from the Valley,

including those who have returned. Although these factors can reinforce the decision to make the initial migration, many return migrants seem to have become less concerned with these factors upon the period of their considering return. One returnee, for example, claimed that she did not like the fact that the people of the Swan Valley were more likely to gossip than city people, gossip being more associated with small, close-knit settlements. She considers gossip a bad thing, especially when rumors about people are not true. On the other hand, she also saw the prevalence of gossip as showing that people are concerned about the welfare of others, and how an individual's actions affect the entire population. It seems that although returnees perceive that there are negative aspects of rural social life, they put much less importance on these factors for the return decision.

The rural settlement also had its share of "pull" factors. These elements of rural Manitoba culture are a draw for migrants from the region to return. Many of the returnees indicated that they returned because they got a job in the Swan Valley, or that they came to live with parents when their personal finances were not stable. However, the fact that their family was in Swan River was the real reason to make it their destination. Returnees value family relationships strongly and perceive the family as a permanent and ever-present means of support, both financial and psychological. Several of the returnees indicated that if their family had not been living in the Swan Valley area, they would not have considered returning there. Although none of the returnees indicated that they returned home to care for ailing parents or other family members, there were a few that indicated that there was a possibility that they

would eventually inherit farm land, homes, and farm machinery from family members. The returnees for whom this was a possibility seemed to sense a great deal of pressure to return to the area of origin and take over the operations of family farms and businesses. Of course, not every returnee felt that their inheritance obligated them fully to accepting a future farm business career. Of those that mentioned the possibility of inheriting land, only one did not have a university or college degree in a professional field. Two of the potential inheritors of land indicated that living and working on the farm might be a possibility, but that they had other career interests, and that their interest in remaining in the Swan Valley was low.

Four of the returnees indicated that they worked for parents upon return. This work was usually short-term work on the farm during a busy period, such as harvest time in the fall. Eight of the returnees, including all of the seasonal returnees, lived with their parents upon return and continued to live with them. The seasonal returnees, as well as some of the others, had made deals with parents that would allow them to stay at home without expenses so they could save most or all of their income. This money was to be used for the purchase of a home or car, to pay the expenses of further education, or to pay off debts. Most of these individuals indicated that they “paid” for their free room and board by taking up household or farm chores for parents.

Connection to family members goes beyond financial or property title obligations. When asked why he returned, one interviewee indicated that he guessed that he was “just a mamma’s boy”, meaning that he returned because

of the emotional satisfaction that he derived from being close to his parents. Another returnee indicated during her interview that her husband told her that she should state her reason for return as “being close to mommy and daddy”. There seems to be a general sense from the returnees that the fact that their parents and other family members are in the Swan Valley is a major element of their desire to return. The returnees did not seem able to articulate in detail their perceived advantage in living near family. Along with the emotional support of family came the perceived sense that parents and other older family members are more financially stable, more experienced, and may be able to offer advice or give direct financial support. In the words of one returnee; “...(it is) the idea that you can always come home. You mess up, you don’t have enough money, well, mom and dad do”. Access to this support from family members is much more likely when the individual is present, rather than in another region.

A number of returnees also stated that they had many friends from high school that had returned, were getting married, and having families. Five of the returnees were married, two separated or divorced. A number of returnees stated that they knew other returnees that were currently having similar experiences. Because these people were of similar age and background, they felt that they could develop or rekindle close friendships with them.

Related to this factor is the common perception among the area’s residents that the Swan Valley is a good place to raise children. With family nearby, there is a readily available source of free childcare. Most parents see connection with the extended family to be beneficial for children, as the family

is the first medium of socialization for a child. As well, parents may see a benefit to their child socializing and going to school with the children of their childhood friends, especially when those people will often take turns in caring for other people's children.

Another consideration for those return migrants that are contemplating having children is the low crime rate in the Swan Valley. While not all returnees would consider the city to be a place of danger for themselves, they do see the Swan Valley as a safer place for children in terms of the levels of violent crime and access to illegal drugs. The close-knit nature of a small town is also to the advantage of the safety of children, because they are less likely to encounter people that do not know them and/or their parents. In a region where people are so familiar with each other, children often learn to introduce themselves as "the son of" or "the daughter of" their parents, which places them within the social context.

Some other pull factors for the rural area are access to outdoor activities, such as skiing, and skidoing in the winter and golfing, lakes, camping and hiking in the summer. Camping is a very popular activity. For those involved in outdoor sports, or sports of any kind, the Swan Valley is perceived as a perfect location. Much of the social life of the region is tied closely with sports and recreation activities. Young people often go to one of the area's lakes for parties in the summer. People meet each other through sports and other organized recreation events. Those individuals not interested in sports or other outdoor activities can be left with the feeling that they are missing out on social activities, or tend to find the social life and population of the area to be dull. In

this way, sports and recreation opportunities in the Swan Valley can be seen as both a push and a pull for the residents of the Valley.

The slower pace of life was also mentioned by a number of returnees as an attractive element of life in the Swan Valley. Returnees often had to work while going to school in the host region, or work a number of jobs at once, and look after themselves in unfamiliar settings. The stress caused by this sudden change in the pace of everyday life has been difficult on some migrants who prefer a slower pace.

Each of these push and pull factors from the host region and the region of origin is balanced by the migrants as they adapt to a new life. Although the initial migration decision can be based on misinformation about the opportunities inherent in the urban setting, migrants soon learn whether they are willing and able to thrive, cope, or reject cities because of or despite their potential as locations of residence.

Economic Impacts of Migration on Migrants and Families

There are some elements of potential migrants' or returnees' finances that figure very prominently in the migration and return decisions. Many of the returnees have gone to institutions of higher learning. These individuals did not only have to concern themselves with paying for rent and food. Transportation to and from school, books, and tuition are also substantial costs. Taking university or college classes also makes it very difficult for students to find flexible work hours that allow them extra time to study or write during peak times, such as the exam period. Few people can manage to

go to school and work to support themselves fully. Thirteen of the eighteen returnees mentioned that they were still paying for student loans, in one case up to \$30,000.

Migrants, especially those that migrated in order to go to school, use various means to get money for school. One very popular strategy is to come home for summers to work. Student migrants often use family connections to find work at local businesses in Swan River. Although a few returnees complained about widespread nepotism in the Valley, they also recognize that many of them achieve the benefits of employment because of family connections.

Parents also make a significant contribution to migrants that intend to receive an education. Nine of the returnees mentioned receiving some form of financial support from parents upon migration or during temporary seasonal returns to the Swan Valley. A few migrants stated that the contributions of parents were small, but that they gave what they could afford to give. Others indicated that their parents were their sole means of support, and that they were able, in a few cases, to work while going to school and to save that money for large purchases after graduating. The financial assistance from parents came most often in the form of cash gifts. Only one returnee said that her parents had set up an education fund for her as a child, and she used that money to go to college. None of the returnees indicated that their parents expected to be compensated later. This gives additional evidence that education is a priority for most people in the Swan Valley, a belief which is

passed down by parents of migrants who may have been migrants once themselves.

Most of the migrants, especially those with more expensive post-secondary education, recognized the advantages that people raised in cities have when it comes to becoming a university or college student. Students from the city can, at least theoretically, live at home, virtually without living expenses, and need only be concerned about paying for books, tuition, and other school-related expenses. With tuition costs in the thousands, and limited financial support from government student loans, some students find it impossible to make ends meet even with the support of a part-time job. Parents, therefore, can become a vital source of money to cover expenses, even when students are careful with their finances.

Although every returnee that was a student complained about debt and balancing their budgets while students, not one indicated that their financial situation was very bad. Some returnees mentioned student debt in statements about house and car payments, indicating that although there was some debt, it did not interfere with their ability to make any large purchases. In the case of the one returnee that did not go to school during migration, money from his job in the host region was used to purchase a house, land, and vehicles. A lower level of income upon return made regular payments for these purchases difficult. For this reason, this returnee was considering returning to his job in the host region to which he had previously migrated. He believed that there he could earn a salary one and a half times as much as at his current job.

The returnees have accumulated some debt, ranging from a few thousand to tens of thousands of dollars. As was mentioned earlier, all of the returnees had jobs, meaning that they were able to find a way to pay down any debts incurred, not including any money given by parents as a gift.

The Return – Causes and Reasons

This section will be a discussion of two different approaches to understanding return – reasons and causes. These two ways of examining why people return correspond with two different approaches that anthropologists have used to understand human behavior, namely, the emic and the etic perspective. These terms were borrowed from linguistics by Marvin Harris (1980:32). They are used to label two different perspectives used in understanding human behavior. In an emic perspective, the validity of the observer's descriptions and analyses is based on the judgement of the native informant. Conclusions or statements made from an emic perspective must be real, meaningful, and appropriate to native informants and other subjects of research (Harris, 1980:32). An understanding of a native informant's world view is the goal of approaching research from an emic perspective. The other view, the etic perspective, is based on scientific observation and measurement of behavior. Whereas the ultimate judge of statements made from an emic perspective are the people being studied, the judge of what kinds of categories, concepts and analysis are appropriate in the etic perspective is the observer himself (Harris, 1980:32). The emic perspective will give us the justifications people give for exhibiting certain behaviours. An etic perspective bases an

understanding of behaviour on observation and analysis grounded on scientific principles. Methods of observation used by anthropologists have shown that the actions taken by individuals can seem unrelated or contradictory to their culturally defined life view. Scientific observation and analysis can uncover aspects of the causes of specific human behaviours which are unknown to native informants. Careful consideration of the world view of native informants can also give a researcher important clues to understanding observed behaviour. This is why it is important to utilize findings from both perspectives.

In the case of return migration in the Swan Valley, returnees seem to have a clear impression of what return means to them and their family. However, this does not mean that they understand all aspects of the local, national, and international context of return migration, or for that matter, migration itself. An analysis of what returnees had to say about their personal reasons for migration and return is very enlightening. For those attending school, many of the returnees stated that they “just knew” that they would be going to university or college even when they were in junior high or early in high school, before they knew if they would have high school marks sufficient to be accepted at a school. This feeling of “just knowing” suggests a high level of subtle or even subconscious pressure within the population for young people to obtain post-secondary education, thus forcing them, or allowing them, to leave the Swan Valley.

As mentioned earlier, the unemployment rate for young people is much higher than the overall rate of unemployment in the area. The average family

income is also only about two-thirds of the provincial average. Although the majority of migrants are most likely not familiar with these figures, they do seem to be aware that their earning potential in the Swan Valley with only a high school diploma is low. The perception of the Swan Valley as a place where those without an education will have a hard time making a living may be altered over time with the recent arrival of the Louisiana-Pacific wafer board plant. Other industries, such as mines, are being discussed for the area, possibly as a direct result of the Louisiana-Pacific plant coming into the region. New prosperity might attract other companies that will hire local labour for unskilled or semi-skilled positions, making the Swan Valley a more popular place for potential migrants to remain after having completed high school.

Currently, the returnees do seem to be aware of the limitations of the local economy. Only two of the returnees were working for Louisiana-Pacific at the time of the interviews. Another two were working as teachers. Two were working in the food service industry. Five were working for the provincial government or a government funded agency. Three returnees owned all or part of their own business. Two worked at banks. One worked for a company selling farm chemicals, and one had a professional position at a lawyer's office. Nearly all would probably say that they received their jobs because of their education and experience, as well as their ties to the Swan Valley.

None of the returnees indicated that their main reason for their return was work. Many indicated that they were not doing what they had been training for in school, or that they would not consider their current job to be

their “dream job”. However, most of the returnees gave multiple reasons for their return. Only five gave their job as a reason for their return, although others said that they had returned because they had run out of money while living in the host region. That does not mean that they returned expecting to find fulfilling full-time work in Swan River, but that their most enduring support system was in place there: their family.

Family was cited as the most important reason for return. Returnees characterized their connection to family in different ways. In all cases, the family was considered the most important source of both financial and emotional support. A number of returnees were very clear in stating that they came home to be close to parents, in order to have their emotional support. Others made arrangements to live with parents, at least for a time, while they worked and saved money, either to remigrate for school or in order to purchase their own house and/or vehicle.

In other cases, it was not so much parents who were the reasons for return as it was boyfriends, girlfriends or fiancées. Some of these romantic relationships were with other migrants that intended to return for family or work, and some of the relationships were with individuals that had never migrated, deciding to remain in Swan Valley even when their mate made the decision to leave. Several of these relationships did eventually turn into marriages. Eleven of the returnees mentioned that they were either married or were dating someone in the Swan Valley at the time of the interviews, and of those not yet married, the majority expected to marry someone from the Swan

Valley or another rural area. For those not already in a relationship, seeking a mate may have been another reason for return.

A few returnees cited familiar environment as a factor, whether it be the social environment or the physical environment of easy access to nature, lakes, and access to outdoor activities. Sixteen of the eighteen returnees interviewed mentioned at least one outdoor sport or form of recreation that they enjoy, in both summer and winter. Many sports and forms of recreation that are available in the Swan Valley have a very strong social component to them. Romantic, friendship, and business connections are often made by acquaintances met through activities such as curling, softball, and hockey. Interest in these types of activities seems to be one of the indicators for possible return, as these potential returnees feel more fulfilled and connected to others in their place of residence when they are able to take part in these types of activities.

In chapter one I referred to success and failure in the host region as an indication of returning potential. The results of an analysis of interviews with returnees to the Swan Valley shows that out of the eighteen returnees, only four might be considered as having failed during their time in a host region. This is not to say that these people are “failures”, but that they were not able to complete their studies, find work, or become integrated to any degree into the sociocultural framework of the host society. For these people, causes for return are much the same as others, but there is more emphasis on reliance on parents for financial assistance, room, and board.

Another reason for return, this one stated by only a few returnees, was a desire to raise a family away from the city. Marriage and family are important to many of the returnees to the Swan Valley, and most seem to feel that the Swan Valley would be a better place to raise children than a city. Some of the reasons given were that there was less fear of crime, especially violent crimes and drugs, closeness to family (although it is not clear if that is for the sake of the child or the parents), exposure to nature and outdoor activities, and the lifestyle and attitudes that rural people develop as opposed to those living in a city. For those returnees with children or for those thinking of having some, the Swan Valley is a very attractive place to live.

Generally, reasons for and causes of return migration seem to be very closely linked. Returnees seem to have carefully thought out the decision to return to the Swan Valley in most cases. However, some of the permanent returnees admit that they did not intend to stay indefinitely, that they had a plan in mind to migrate again after a holiday, or to work for a short time and save money while living at home. Those that did have the opportunity to carefully consider return tended to offer a number of reasons that they decided that return was right for them. The majority of returnees were not forced, through economic or other shortcomings, to return. Many searched for jobs in the Swan Valley for long periods before finding employment that would allow them to return. Some started their own businesses when jobs could not be found. In the case of return migration to Swan River, the evidence seems to indicate that returnees preferred to return, but were generally not forced by their financial or personal circumstances.

The Returnees

The returnees to the Swan Valley area defy characterization. No difference in gender, marital status, education level, personality, or interests can be used to predict absolutely who will return and who will not. Just as those seeking education, high-paying unskilled labour, and diversity of goods and services will tend to migrate, so too will those seeking closeness to family, the rural lifestyle, easy access to outdoor activities, and a familiar setting, feel inclined to return. The returnees interviewed for this study had a range of post-secondary education experiences, from university degrees to no post-secondary education. Their pre-return finances also differed greatly, from having left behind \$50,000 per year jobs, to having completely empty bank accounts.

There appears to be four distinct groups of returnees based on the locations and conditions of their respective host areas. Migrants to Red Deer Alberta and the surrounding area tended to be males that left right after completing (and some before completing) high school. These migrants tended to get high-paying jobs on the oil rigs, and most proceeded to spend that money on flashy consumer items, such as cars and stereos, which were often put on display during visits home. Upon return, these migrants, mostly men, were forced to continue with unskilled labour jobs, like many of the positions at Louisiana-Pacific, or to return to farming. A second group of migrants went to Brandon, Manitoba. The majority of these migrants took classes at community college or university, often with an emphasis on job skills such as business or teaching which would be marketable in rural areas like the Swan Valley. These migrants had some pre-migration anxiety about life in a larger

city like Winnipeg, and so chose a smaller host location. Brandon's proximity to Swan River (about a four-hour drive) makes it very attractive to those with very close ties to family, friends, and romantic relationships in the Swan River area. So many migrants from the Swan Valley end up in Brandon that a few of the returnees who lived there described it as being just an offshoot of Swan River itself. Returnees from Brandon mentioned that there was a close knit group of people from Swan River residing in Brandon who socialized almost exclusively with each other.

The third location for migration from the Swan Valley is the city of Winnipeg. Winnipeg, being the largest city in the province, attracts both those migrants interested in taking some form of post secondary education, and those that are just interested in searching for a job. Migrants to Winnipeg seem to be less likely to return, and more likely to chose a career that would not allow them to return to Swan Valley. The distance is a factor in making it less likely that migrants return very often for visits. Returnees from Winnipeg might also find it more difficult to adjust to a lack of certain goods and services in the Swan Valley.

The fourth and smallest group consists of those that did not migrate to the three most common host regions. Some of the other destinations included Calgary, Alberta and various locations in Ontario. Only two migrants made the decision to travel to somewhere besides the traditional host regions, and in both cases, the move was made because of where the migrants were accepted to schools. Of the eighteen returnees interviewed, twelve indicated that there was a good chance that they would be permanent returnees. The other six

either were seasonal returnees from school (three individuals), or were planning to migrate again in the near future (three individuals). Permanent returnees tended to have stable full time jobs, usually in their field of study. Most had children, a permanent residence, or other financial obligations such as a business or land that would make it more difficult for them to migrate again. Most of those who had returned only temporarily were living with parents. Permanent returnees stated a preference for the rural lifestyle close to family. Most expressed a moderate to high satisfaction with their job, although some said that they only took the job so they could stay in the Swan Valley.

The Economics of Return

As was mentioned earlier, there was not a great deal of personal financial information gathered from returnees. Returnees were not asked for detailed information for a number of reasons. The first is that maintaining records is often difficult when moving long distances. Without records of employment, income statements, and tax forms, an accurate portrayal of the return migrants' financial situations would be difficult. Therefore, returnees were asked about their financial situation and the kinds of stresses that low amounts of personal income might have caused. Although a few returned to the Swan Valley without money, the majority returned with at least some cash, some with a substantial income or savings from work in the host region.

Most of the returnees worked during their time as migrants, either only in the summer, or during the school year for some of those going to school. All of the returnees seem to have a strong work ethic, and most of the

returnees did well in school. Seven of the returnees had more than one job, and two of these returnees worked for their parents on the farm part time. Finding work did not seem to be a problem for any of the returnees. Most had the concern, however, that their jobs were not stable, or that they could be making more if they were living in a city and had more choice of jobs.

Despite the fact that most of the returnees had incurred some type of debt, none of them indicated that they had an unmanageable amount of debt. One returnee indicated that he thought that he might return to his previous host region to work in order to save up some money to pay debts. Those returnees who had completed school made no mention of further migrations that would be undertaken to pay off debts.

Return and Sociocultural Factors

The majority of the return migrants interviewed for this study did not indicate any problems with reintegrating into the social networks of the Swan Valley area. In many cases, part of their interest to return was based on re-acquainting themselves with old friends, both those who had left the area and returned, and those who had never left the area. Because none of the returnees had been away from the Swan Valley for more than ten years, they were often able to find people in the area who they had known and had friendships with before migration.

Because of the close-knit nature of the social networks of a rural area like the Swan Valley, people's social status is defined by factors such as job, family name, religious affiliation, and "community consciousness", that is, an

individual's level of involvement with clubs and organizations in the area. All or most of the returnees were employed in stable, full time jobs. Some of these jobs, such as teachers or those working at Louisiana-Pacific, are considered respectable or even prestigious jobs. Family name is important, more so within each town or village. If the son of a farmer becomes, for example, a teacher, it is not seen as abandoning the family business, but as "moving up in the world". Failure at school or a lack of financial independence upon return might be perceived negatively. The son or daughter could not "make it", and may therefore lower respect for the family. Religious affiliation can be an important aspect of social networking within small, rural towns and villages. In a region like the Swan Valley, where the different ethnic groups are to some degree represented by their religion, there is a degree of rivalry between those of different religious groups. This rivalry extends to both business dealings and social networks. The social importance of religious affiliation is beginning to fade as there are more return migrants that reject the church as a means to achieve social status. The "different kinds of people" that returnees met in the city seem to give most returnees an introduction to unfamiliar religious beliefs and ethnic groups than those that do not leave the area or are from an older generation. Only three of the returnees indicated that they had maintained any sort of religious affiliation. This could suggest that religion, as an indicator of status and group affiliation, is no longer an important tool for a younger generation of returnees to gain status in the Swan Valley. Returnees who do not go to one of the area's churches do not seem to be suffering because of their lack of religious affiliation.

Association with clubs and organizations in the region is another important indicator of sociocultural integration into the region. The six seasonal or temporary returnees had, as one might expect, much less affiliation with any clubs or organizations in the area than more permanent residents. The most common types of clubs that returnees are involved with are sports clubs (the social implications of being a member of these clubs was discussed earlier). These include such sports clubs as curling, hockey, and slo-pitch baseball. Other clubs that returnees labeled as important are service clubs like the Lions, Elks, and Rotary clubs, although few mentioned that they themselves were active members of these groups. For children there are such groups as 4H, Cubs, Scouts, Brownies, and Girl Guides, all of which have active clubs in Swan River and a number of surrounding villages. Only one of the return migrants mentioned that he belonged to less than two organizations or named less than two that he thought were important to the community. The returnee mentioning only one group was living and working at the far end of the Swan Valley on weekdays, returning to his family home on weekends. This made it difficult for him to be more involved with other types of clubs.

The evidence suggests that while returnees have come to shun one of the previously important symbols of social integration, religion, there are other traditional activities that they have embraced, such as sports involvement and service clubs. It is likely that their children will also be tied to those organizations with an early start in minor sports and Scouting. Therefore, while in some ways returnees are having an effect by slowly changing the rules

defining a “good Swan River-ite”, in most cases they are easily reintegrated into the local social system.

Return and the Individual

In many ways returnees are caught between two worlds. On one hand, they have balanced all of the “push” and “pull” factors to the best of their ability, and have decided that it would be in their best interests to move back to the Swan Valley. On the other hand, depending on their personality, goals, experiences, and length of time living in the city, they do have some affection for certain elements of city life. Elements of city life such as access to goods and services, education and employment, a variety of people and possibilities, all are attractive to the returnee, despite their decision to return.

Many of the returnees, when asked about the availability of goods and services in the Swan Valley area, seemed to feel that the people of Swan River had adequate access to goods and services. However, many of the returnees later expressed their dissatisfaction with certain inadequacies of local markets. There was some understanding, as well, that this is a common complaint about Swan River that they hear from colleagues and visitors. Returnees often began their complaints with the statement “Well, it would be nice to have a ...”. Many of the items or services that they mentioned were ones they were exposed to in the city, and have used to such an extent that they took access to these goods and services for granted. Returnees have been exposed to greater variety of consumer items while living in the city. Even those who have never migrated are exposed, through television, to goods and services unavailable in the region. The goods and services for which there were the most complaints

were lack of access to a variety of clothing styles and prices, and different forms of entertainment such as cinemas, concerts, plays, and the zoo.

Other factors that returnees had difficulty adjusting to were mentioned in passing. One returnee found that most of the people who she had expected to see upon return had actually moved away. She seemed to have a difficult time making new friends with people near her age. In another case, a returnee stated that he found people in the area to be close minded and hypocritical. He also stated that nepotism made it more difficult for him to find a good job when he returned.

In many cases, returnees did not have very active social lives. Young couples are often less social, perhaps because the number of young, stable couples to socialize with as a couple are small, and the time demands of work and family are high. Returnees can have limited exposure to others because they work long hours at wage labour or at their own businesses. This can make it difficult for couples to make new friends in the area.

Returnees have found ways to cope with the loss of certain types of goods and services. Many younger people make trips into Brandon or Winnipeg to go shopping. Rather than going out to movies, many people in the area now rent videotapes, which has spawned a large number of businesses to accommodate demand. A number of returnees have purchased satellite dishes to receive a broader range of television and radio stations. Overall, the returnees seem to have been able to reintegrate themselves into the social networks of the region well, and have not felt a great deal of stress in readapting to rural life.

Return and the Region of Origin

As was mentioned in chapter one, much of the research of return migration has focused on the effects of return migrant flows on the local region of origin. In the Swan Valley region, recent return flows seem to have been small enough not to have a dramatic effect on the area. Remittances do not seem to be important for the people of this region, as many of the migrants who returned had been students, and had not made a substantial amount of money that could be used to send home to family. Land was purchased by only one of the interviewed returnees, and he expressed concern that he may not be able to continue payments on the land if he did not leave the area to pursue more lucrative employment opportunities. Many returnees had purchased homes, but among the eighteen returnees not one had decided to build a new home.

Three returnees opened or helped someone to open a new business in town. Two of the businesses were unique in the area at the time that they were established (massage therapy and manicurist), and all of the businesses offered services that were not widely used or demanded in the area before they opened. Several similar businesses began soon after, indicating that the market for those services in the area could soon be filled. None of the returnees were able to introduce new technologies or new skills into the area, and often the skills they did have were underused or unutilized.

There were indications from the returnees that there were some benefits resulting from their own return and the return of others. Returnees seemed to perceive that more young people were returning to the area or staying in the

area due to new employment opportunities. Returnees also seemed to recognize that there was a higher level of prosperity in the area, giving as proof the belief that many people were making new vehicle purchases and leases. New businesses had opened up in the last few years, some catering to the needs of the logging industry, and others to the interests of its labourers.

Returnees seemed to have a great deal of hope for the future of the area. Most of the returnees stated or implied that they saw the local economy improving, that there was some increase of population, and that the region was experiencing a resurgence of cultural and social vigor because of the return or retention of younger people. Although it is too soon to be sure about any economic benefits attributable to returnees, there does seem to be some visible effects of new jobs and new prosperity in the region due to Louisiana-Pacific.

It is inevitable that new ideas, new ways of doing things, based on the education that many returnees have received, will have a subtle but noticeable effect on the area. From the way the people do business, to the types of services that are demanded and are made available, the injection of educated young people, many on the verge of starting their own families, may have positive effects on the economic and social health of the Swan Valley region.

Chapter 5: Towards an Ethnology of Return Migration and Conclusions

This case study of the return migration in the Swan River Valley has many elements that are comparable to the case studies discussed in chapter one. Although this study has some severe time and resource limitations compared to many of those studies, some elements seem to be similar across time and geographical area.

First, returnees do not seem to be motivated to return for purely economic reasons. Maximizing economic gains is less valued than maintaining integration in a familiar social and cultural setting. Although some returnees are forced to return due to a failure to achieve their goals, many have a desire to return despite, or even because of, economic success in the host area. In this rural Manitoba example, all the returnees were employed after return. This could indicate that the social networks in a rural region which are accessible through family and friends act not just as a safety net, but as a tool which returnees consciously use to allow for their return. In the words of one temporary returnee, “If there was a job, if there was a career in Swan for me, yeah, I would come back home. I would spend the rest of my life here if I could. But it all depends on the job market.” Responses such as this, common among returnees, seem to indicate that returnees desire a job that will allow them a comfortable lifestyle in rural terms. It does not seem to indicate that a very high paying job in the city would erase their desire to return to the Swan Valley.

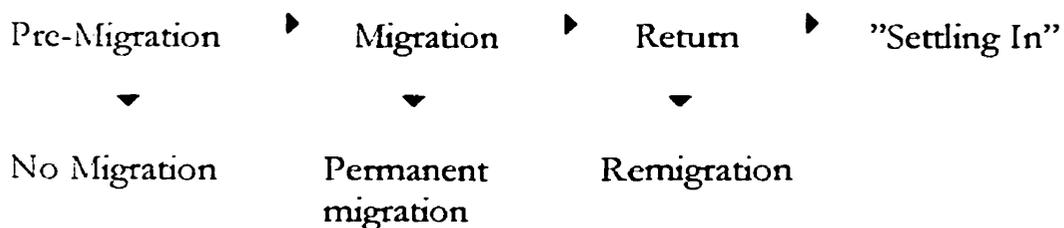
The desire for a certain type of lifestyle, available only in a rural setting, is more important to returnees than the desire to make a lot of money. While all but one of the returnees indicated that they saw making money as a high priority (an average of eight on a scale of one to ten), all saw fulfilling work as a higher priority (an average of 9.4 out of ten on a scale of one to ten). It is interesting to note that when asked if having a job that let them stay in the area was important, the average response from the returnees rated it as 5.7 out of 10. This might indicate that, for many, the decision to return was a close thing, requiring a careful consideration. The desire to travel was rated an average of 6.7 out of 10, indicating again that the desire to see more of the world than just the Swan Valley is high. Although the average response for the question of rating their priority to stay in the Swan Valley was 6.8 out of ten, there was a great deal of variation in responses. The results of these three questions may indicate that there is some insecurity about the return decision. However, only the seasonal return migrants, and a few of the “permanent” migrants, gave any indication that they had any serious intentions to leave the Swan Valley soon after the interviews.

Degree and type of training does not seem to be a major factor in predicting the type of employment returnees secure upon return. The knowledge, skills, and labour of returnees are not being transferred to the areas that most need labour, the cities. In fact, much of the skills and knowledge that they returnees have accumulated as migrants is wasted in a rural region, where the positions that require those qualifications are non-existent. When economic tides turn to allow even a small number of outsiders into the Swan

Valley for decent jobs, the return flows are noticeable, and many of the faces are recognizable.

A Model for Migration and Return

A model to explain return migration must begin with an explanation of the factors which cause migration. The following sections will depict an overview of four separate stages in the migration and return process. The first step is the pre-migration period, when potential migrants are considering the possibility of leaving the area of origin. The next step is the migration, when much knowledge is being gained by the migrant about city life. The third stage is the return, the point at which the migrant makes the decision to leave the city behind for the advantages of rural life. And the fourth part, the stage that could be called "Settling In", details the push and pull factors that are acting on the returnee as they either settle into the social fabric of the rural area, or decide that the city has almost as many advantages, requiring only a subtle shift in the rural or urban economy to bring about a new move. An extremely simplified schematic of the model might look like this:



Starting at the pre-migration stage, a number of factors lead to migrants choosing to migrate or not, to return or not, and to remigrate or not. Each of the following pros and cons, or pushes and pulls, represents the key factors in

more or less the order of their relative importance in influencing the decision making process. The model shows the relevant factors (the reasons and causes) that influence the migration and return cycle, connections between those factors, as well as how they seem to be weighed by migrants during the various points of decision for migration and return.

The Migration Decision

Education and employment far outweigh all other factors in the decision for youth to migrate in the Swan Valley region. For those seeking post-secondary education, a number of variables help to determine the location of the host region or potential host regions for migration. First off is the field of study which the potential migrant feels is interesting, and that would lead to a fulfilling job with a reasonable income. Once interest in a particular field of study is established, the potential migrants must decide what type of educational institution would best suit their needs. Universities, colleges and technical schools offer a wide range of subjects, often with some overlap of subject themes and various levels of certification. The reputation of a school can be very important to a prospective student, especially as it reflects their ability to find a job after the completion of studies. Those potential migrants who do not have an interest in post secondary education generally must find unskilled labour jobs. The popularity of the province of Alberta as a destination for many migrants from the Swan Valley is based on the availability of high-paying unskilled labour jobs in the oil industry. Reliance on these types

of jobs over time has created a network through which many potential migrants find jobs even before migrating.

The preferred locations are those which the potential migrant has prior knowledge of, either from first-hand experience or from accounts of other migrants. Family members, and especially siblings, living in a potential host location can make it even more attractive, especially for a younger person who is accustomed to the support of family. Potential migrants' choice of location can also be influenced by friends who are considering migration themselves. Often living arrangements in the host location are determined beforehand with one or more friends from the region of origin. This can both reduce the cost of living for the migrant, and create a comfortable and familiar atmosphere in the home.

Another important aspect of the location decision is for potential migrants considering post-secondary education to be accepted into the school they want. Once potential migrants have been accepted into a school, they must then deal with the problem of paying expenses. Although many potential migrants save money to attend school, many still rely at least somewhat on parents for money to pay expenses. Student loans are also common. When all of the conditions are met in one or more location, the potential migrants can make their decision to migrate.

A number of aspects of life in the Swan Valley lead to the desire of young people to migrate. High unemployment rates, lack of local post-secondary educational facilities, low average income for the region compared to the provincial average, and a lack of professional or skilled labour jobs all

contribute to potential migrants looking elsewhere for jobs and education. There is a strong sense that such opportunities as various forms of post-secondary education, a wider range of employment opportunities after graduation, and social elements of university or college life are all very attractive to potential migrants with the desire and skills to continue with education. These things can only be found together in a city.

Other migrants from the Swan Valley are more interested in finding employment right out of high school. Normally, the kinds of positions available to young adults just out of high school are fairly limited, usually unskilled, physical labour jobs. Skilled or professional jobs in the region are generally limited to those who have a university or college degree.

Location is also an important component of the migration decision for those seeking employment out of high school. Migrants searching for work are more likely to go where they know someone is already living, or with someone they know is moving there. As was mentioned earlier, the oil fields of Alberta are a popular destination for migrants from the Swan Valley. Potential income is certainly the prime factor which draws migrants to this area.

For those migrants seeking employment, the characteristics of the Swan Valley which encourage migration are a high unemployment rate, a lack of high-paying unskilled employment in the region, a lack of diversity of job types, limited opportunity for advancement, and less access to capital for starting a business where self-employment is desired. Winnipeg and various cities in Alberta are generally the most attractive locations for migrants from the Swan Valley. These locations offer a greater diversity of job types, more high paying,

unskilled labour jobs (especially in the oil industry), and opportunities for advancement and on the job training.

Besides education and employment, there are other factors which are a part of the migration decision. The availability of goods and services is an important factor often mentioned by both potential migrants and return migrants. The two major aspects of the availability of goods and services are quality and quantity. Quality refers to the range of price and quality of certain consumer items, such as clothing. Although quality clothing is available in Swan River, the price is often more than similar clothing can be purchased for in the city. Styles are often outdated, and popular clothing styles are often not available. Quantity is also a problem, as there are few places that sell clothes in Swan River. Both potential migrants and returnees note a perceived lack of other types of goods and services as well, along with problems of low quality, sporadic availability of some items, and high cost of certain goods and services.

Entertainment and leisure opportunities, or the lack thereof, are also factors affecting migration. Aside from sports, many residents of the area are aware of a lack of various types of entertainment available in the region. Cities offer a wide range of entertainment and leisure options, such as live theatre, movies, and concerts which are not available in a rural area. In a city there is also a range of costs for events to suit different incomes and interests.

Social interaction is an important element of the migration decision. People that have grown up in a rural area are often anxious to meet new and different kinds of people from those to which they have been previously exposed. The chance to develop new friendships and romantic relationships is

a strong draw, especially for young people. Potential migrants from the Swan Valley area are pushed by a limited number of individuals in the area of the same age for friendship or romantic relationships. Potential migrants are often disillusioned with the limited opportunities that are available in a rural community for meeting new people, finding a suitable mate, etc. Urban life can provide a wider variety of types of people and lifestyle choices. It is possible to meet others with similar rural backgrounds for friendship and romance. However, it is also possible to get exposure to other types of people, other races, religions, belief systems, and lifestyles, which can alter the worldview of the migrants through contact.

Migration can be seen as a rite of passage. It can be a means of obtaining independence from parents, the ability to explore different lifestyle choices, and exposure to new experiences and opportunities. Potential migrants can see migration as a way to reject or escape from a strict religious upbringing, and as a way, at least temporarily, to disassociate themselves from an area where the local residents are perceived as being of limited different types of ethnic origin, religion, or racial diversity. At the extreme, rural residents are seen by potential migrants, migrants, and returnees as boring, uneducated, or sheltered. The attractions of urban life include independence, anonymity, the opportunity to explore new living situations, and the chance to compare and contrast rural and urban lifestyles. The initial migration experience, especially for young people, is a chance for the migrant to determine what kind of environment is most suited to them.

Other factors are important for migrants moving from rural to urban locations in other parts of the world. Migration as part of a job, such as working in long-distance transport (i.e. cross-ocean shipping), or armed forces personnel stationed overseas, can mean long periods where migrants actually live “on the road”. Despite long periodic absences from their home region, these “migrants” do not lose their essential connection to the home region which would lead to them to be considered migrants. Seasonal migration is similar, such as in the case of seasonal farm labourers. Normally, the region of origin is still considered to be home.

Migrants who are part of a forced relocation are a special case. This can include those that are forced to relocate because of war, political refugees, victims of natural disasters such as floods, tropical storms or droughts, or immigrants who are forcibly repatriated to their home country or region. It can also include those who have been relocated by their own governments to make way for projects like hydroelectric dams (as the Nubians in the Aswan region of Egypt). These projects displace as many as 2 million people worldwide each year (Guggenheim and Cernea, 1993:2). People who have been forcibly relocated are a special case which is not within the scope of this thesis.

The specific context of life in a small rural settlement in Manitoba, together with an emphasis on post-secondary education and financial independence, act to make migration from the Swan Valley attractive to many young people. Through a careful consideration of as many facts about city life as possible, the decision whether and where to migrate is made.

Adjustment to Urban Life by Rural Migrants from the Swan Valley

A number of issues affect migrants as they make the transition from a rural region to an urban one, as in the case of most migrants from Swan River. One of the biggest adjustments for migrants is economic, particularly if they are young and leaving their parents' household for the first time. Finding employment, or funding education, is a top priority for which the migrants must learn new skills and learn to adapt old ones. Rural dwellers often rely more heavily on nepotism for the job search than do urban dwellers. For this reason, rural dwellers may have a slight disadvantage in this area while making a job search. Rural migrants have the disadvantage of having little access to informal or volunteer opportunities to increase skills or gain experience in certain fields. These limitations make formal education that much more attractive to rural migrants, many of whom chose to pursue educational opportunities for just this reason.

Another adjustment that migrants must make is to a new set of living arrangements. There are many different approaches to handling the problem of assessing different possibilities for housing and transportation, obtaining a suitable and affordable residence, and maintaining that residence, and all related expenses. Many different kinds of living arrangements are possible in the city. Migrants from the Swan Valley tend to live in university residences if they are students, or apartments, usually with at least one roommate who is often also a former resident of Swan River. Non-student migrants also tend to live in apartments, or rent a house if they are able to find others to share costs.

Dealing with expenses is an important aspect of migrants' new experiences. Rent, food, transportation, medical bills, and education costs are the major costs that migrants need suddenly to deal with. This can be difficult for those migrants that were never forced to deal with these issues before, having lived in their parents' home until the time of migration. All of the returnees mentioned some period of adjustment in dealing with expenses, with different degrees of success. Often parents were called upon to help with unexpected expenses. Even when the migrant had the funds to manage all expenses, parents were often a source of advice for financial management.

As stated earlier, the majority of returnees to the Swan Valley had undertaken some type of post-secondary education. At this level, education is structured differently from high school and can sometimes be difficult for migrants to adjust to, especially with the added pressure of the migration to deal with. Obtaining funding for post-secondary education is often the most difficult aspect of the experience. Savings, loans and gifts from parents and other family members, government sponsored student loans, student lines of credit, and for a few, scholarships, are the various means of paying for post-secondary education. Education costs can include tuition, books, supplies, and other miscellaneous items, which can quickly add up.

Another adjustment for the migrant is time, or more specifically, time management. Whereas before migration time was divided into school, part time job, and free time, migrants, especially who are full time students, can find that time management can be a real problem when they are forced to make up their own schedule. Work, classes, studying, and social life must all be balanced

by the migrant themselves, rather than through the intervention of society or parents.

This is a period when social life is very important to young migrants. Migrants seek friends and sexual partners at this time, and are often drawn to other migrants from similar backgrounds or even the same region of origin. Rural migrants often use the same strategies for meeting people and socializing that they do in the rural region – church and sporting clubs are two of the strongest examples of the kinds of activities migrants use to meet others like them. In most cases, these types of activities are quickly supplemented with new strategies to meet people, including going to bars and dance clubs where others of the same age gather. Often, networks of other migrants from the Swan River area are used to make social connections and gain entrance into private social events such as socials and house parties.

Some entertainment venues are also conducive to social interaction. Many new entertainment possibilities are available to rural migrants that were not available to them in their region of origin. Going to the shopping mall, films, theatre, certain sports which require special facilities, and large attractions like museums, zoos, and galleries expand the possibilities for education, entertainment, and social interaction for rural migrants. Many migrants are strongly drawn to urban life by these opportunities. Many of the returnees expressed that the various ways to spend leisure time was one of the things that they missed most about returning to a rural region.

As expressed earlier, the relative poor quality and quantity of goods and services are factors for many in the decision to migrate. Cost was a major issue

for young migrants, as was the availability of current styles of clothing which were not available in the rural region. Many of the returnees expressed the lack of goods and services in the rural region as a major drawback to rural life. A few of the returnees even stated that they make periodic trips to the city for the expressed purpose of purchasing items such as clothing that are more expensive and in lesser variety than in the city. Most of the returnees stated they had quickly adjusted to the ready availability of many goods and services not available in the Swan Valley, such as convenience stores or cheap movie theatres.

The kinds of lifestyle changes that were made by migrants moving to an urban environment as they made adjustments to urban life are quite profuse, and vary according to migrants host region, interests and other factors. However, some of the major aspects of adjustment to urban life are common among migrants. Coupled with lifestyle choices is the concept of well being. Lifestyle choices are those activities and interests which are pursued based on what kinds of activities give the migrant a sense of well being, or which the migrant believes will lead to it. Using at first the strategies that worked for them in a rural setting, migrants can quickly expand their interests to include activities that they were not exposed to before because they were unavailable in the rural setting. Education, exposure to different people, and exposure to different facilities and choices of entertainment and hobbies can lead migrants into lifestyle choice that they never could have expected. These adjustments, although sometimes difficult, are most often accepted in time, and eventually preferred over aspects of rural lifestyle.

Not every migrant adjusts to this new way of life, however. When migrants find something lacking in their urban lifestyle, they can turn, and return, to what they knew before. When the rural lifestyle begins to look more attractive than urban life, the migrant may consider return.

The Return Migration Decision

Interviews with returnees indicate that desire to rejoin their family was the most important factor in their return. The family can offer both financial and emotional support which is very attractive to those raised in a rural setting. As was mentioned earlier, a person's social status can be defined in a rural community by their last name or other family affiliations. Those migrants that are not comfortable with the anonymity of urban life can find that familiar social networks and systems of status hierarchies a very strong draw to return. Also, for those migrants who are financially unsuccessful in the host region, the financial and material assistance obtainable from family while living in the Swan Valley is greater than that available from a distance. The number of cash gifts, often a point of contention within families, are reduced when the migrant has returned and is living close to family. Other types of material goods, such as food, and services (farm labour or yard work, for example), are exchanged in a kind of unequal reciprocity for which dollar values are not calculated. This informal, or non-capitalist economic exchange supplements and works in conjunction with wage labour. Depending on the economic context of the region of origin, this household-based informal economy may play a substantial

role in the stabilizing the returnees income, as well as their place in the social networks of the region (Kearney, 1987:342).

Some returnees also use their connection with family to allow them the opportunity to save money and create a nest egg. Some returnees live with parents or other family members in order to reduce expenses and optimize their savings to make large purchases such as houses and cars.

In other cases, 'family' can refer not to parents or other consanguineal relations, but to spouses or mates. In some cases the spouse or mate may have had an interest in returning to the region of origin, or may not have left at all.

In these cases, the location of the spouse becomes the principal draw to return.

In other cases, a returnee may not have a spouse or other partner in the region of origin, but may have a preference to find a mate from the Swan Valley region or a nearby rural region with a similar background. In general, returnees prefer making new friends or recontacting old ones in the Swan Valley because of their common backgrounds.

The natural environment is also an important aspect of the return decision. Outdoor activities such as camping, fishing, and outdoor sports are very popular in rural areas, and urban dwelling makes access to these types of activities more difficult. Returnees planning families find that they prefer their children have access to these kinds of activities, and to nature in general.

Failure in the host region is another aspect of the return decision that seems to effect only a small number of returnees. Migrants may be forced to return because of a number of different kinds of failure in the host region. Migrants may be unable to complete studies while in the host region, forcing

them to return for financial and emotional support. Migrants may have a difficult time finding employment in the host region, or may be underemployed. Migrants may also be psychologically uncomfortable or unable to cope with changes in lifestyle that are made necessary by urban life, a state generally referred to as home-sickness, alienation, or a lack of sociocultural integration. These material and psychological conditions can lead to return.

Employment does not seem to be a very important reason for migrants to return to the Swan Valley. Obviously, the returning migrants need employment, but those who return with an education and experience from jobs worked in the city have an advantage over non-migrants with no education beyond high school. Returnees are able to use family and acquaintance networks in the rural area to find work. In many cases, however, the employment found by returnees has little relation to their training or interests. A number of returnees made their own employment, starting their own business when no decent jobs presented themselves. This would indicate that many of the returnees were interested in return or were considering return before they made plans to deal with their material well-being. This shows that return migration is not based solely on economic considerations.

Settling In

For many returnees, return is not a last step in the migration cycle. The decision to return is not always simple. In fact, it would probably be fair to say that in the majority of cases, the decision to return to the Swan Valley is a very difficult decision which can easily be reversed by such factors as a slight change

in the economy of the region or other regions of the country. As was stated earlier, a number of the interviewees were planning to migrate again. Some of the reasons for this included the need for more money to pay bills, or a return to school. The goal of both of these reasons for re-migration was to increase earnings to maintain or improve standard of living or socio-economic status.

Returnees can always be potential re-migrants, usually until certain criteria are met. One of the most significant is the economic and familial ties to farmland and other property. Once returnees own land for farming, a house of their own, or have the potential to inherit land from family members there is a much greater chance that they will not undertake re-migration. Employment security and level of satisfaction are also major factors. If returnees can find a job which is rewarding both financially and emotionally, there is much less chance that they will consider migration. The migration decision has a much stronger financial component than does the decision to return, and remigration is often linked to dissatisfaction with wages and/or expenses in the region of origin compared to other locations..

Returnees to the Swan Valley seem generally to be able to reintegrate themselves quite quickly into the social fabric of the region because of their family ties to the region. Their own experience with individuals in the region is also a factor in aiding their reintegration. Returnees tend to quickly reinstate themselves as local residents through their involvement with recreational sports, local service clubs, and through their connection to non-migrant friends that are already established in the region.

However, reintegration is not a completely painless process. Migrants returning from an urban environment find it difficult to adjust to the slower pace of life in a rural region. They feel a form of “host region sickness”, much like being homesick, whereby aspects of urban life are missed when not present in the rural region. Most often returnees mentioned missing friends, the conveniences of urban life, and goods and services not available in the rural region. Returnees tended to make trips into Brandon or Winnipeg more frequently than some non-migrants in order to make visits and purchase goods not available in Swan River.

It seems that some of the conditions in the Swan Valley that led to returnees migrating in the first place were the same ones that were problems for them upon return. The principal difference was with their attitudes about city life, which they had now experienced, and with the pursuit of financial independence, which most of the returnees seemed to have to one degree or another. The advantages to the returnees’ emotional well being, the support of family and friends in a stable and familiar environment do seem to outweigh the chances of employment and income available in an urban environment.

The Case Study: Implications for a Rural Region

There can be no doubt that new economic opportunities in the Swan Valley have made it possible for many of the recent return migrants to come back to the Swan Valley. Returnees identify strongly with the Swan Valley, possibly as a result of the agricultural roots of the population of the region. Returnees’ experiences in urban settings reinforce their understanding that

populations in rural regions of the Canadian prairies have a unique culture and lifestyle. Returnees showed a distinct preference for the lifestyle, the social etiquette, and the friendly, relaxed atmosphere of rural life compared to urban life.

While the actual number of return migrants to the Swan Valley region was not measured by this research, it seems that many young people have returned now that more jobs are available. If the local government is able to capitalise on the newly renovated economy of the region, they may be able to draw other types of business ventures to the area, such as a proposed mine. Continued economic growth and thoughtful development of the economy of the region may lead to not only an influx of returnees, but also a reduction in the number of migrants. Those potential migrants seeking education beyond high school will be most effected by new employment opportunities in the region. They will be less likely to feel the need to migrate if the local economy is more stable and unemployment rates are lower in the region.

While the economy of the region still relies on farming, much is being made of the changes and opportunities that have come about through the appearance of the Louisiana-Pacific plant. Two problems exist with the presence of a production facility of this nature, however. The first is that, while jobs are being provided to the people of the region, the profits from the sale of natural resources of the area do not stay in the region. While Louisiana-Pacific may very well make contributions to the area in the form of sponsoring events or groups, supporting local organisations, and possibly giving to local charities, the amount of money the company is making from the region is much greater.

The other problem is that a company like Louisiana-Pacific cannot guarantee a long-term investment in the region that would allow the local government to depend on them for long term plans. Local government does not seem to have at this time an overall development plan for the region that would include, but not be based on, revenues and tax dollars from the operations of Louisiana-Pacific. The people of the Swan Valley must be conscientious about dealing with such a powerful industry, and must use the opportunity to ignite a process which can give the region sustained economic stability.

This is where the skills and knowledge that returnees have can be used to improve conditions in the region. Returnees are between two worlds, having an understanding of rural and urban life, while not completely integrated into either. As returnees become part of the social fabric of the region, and even become leaders, they can use what they know about what works and what doesn't work to bring the people of the area together and make good economic decisions for the future. Tourism, for example, is a possible area for expansion in the Swan Valley area. Hunting, fishing, and camping facilities are all available in the area, and could be expanded, developing a lucrative industry. Some of the returnees had specific ideas about business ventures, facilities, and projects that they would like to see in the area. Every returnee seemed to have an interest in improving the economic and social environments of the region, while recognising that an economic boost to the region was a first step. So, in this region, especially among young returnees, there is a feeling of hope for the economic future of the region. For returnees, as well as other residents of the

region, economic health for the area means the ability to continue their way of life.

The effects of migration and return on the region of origin is an important aspect of the broader context of rural economic development. A number of studies conducted in Manitoba, including Lynn Lawless's thesis *Economic Decline and a Rural Manitoba Village* (1991) deal with the problems of economic survival for rural villages and regions of the Canadian prairies. Two main strategies seem to be diversifying income through wage labour (as is the case with many of the employees of Louisiana – Pacific) and to strengthen the reliance on subsistence farming and the informal economy of the region (In the case of Lawless's study, informal economic support was often polarized along ethnic lines) (1991:118). These strategies for economic survival, especially wage labour, ties in closely with the need for migration and the use of remittances and savings upon return.

Ethnology of Return Migration and Implications

Through observation and comparison, some general statements about return migration can be made. The Swan Valley case study seems to indicate that, for return migrants, the most important factor influencing return is not financial, but social. That is, the most significant aspect of the return decision is that returnees see proximity to family, friends, and a social environment where they know the rules as being more important to them than the financial opportunities available in an urban environment. Evidence from the international case studies mentioned in Chapter 1 would seem to confirm this

idea without expressing it overtly. Many human beings are drawn to the region of their origin for various reasons. For some migrants, family support and an understanding of the social rules specific to rural lifestyles seem to outweigh concerns for financial gain. Returnees seem to feel that they can use family and social networks in the region of origin well enough to “get by” financially. When basic financial needs can be met, the region of origin can, for some, be the place where psychological needs can also best be met.

The flow of return migrants to rural regions of all parts of the world, including the Swan River valley, is an untapped resource of labour and skills with incredible potential. These individuals represent possible informal and formal liaisons between rural and urban regions. Those individuals returning or showing an interest in returning to their rural region or origin could be valuable assets to both urban and rural regions if they were trained for specific purposes.

In terms of economic development alone, both rural and urban interests could be joined by individuals who understand the needs and desires of those with economic interests in both locations. Both rural and urban business and government could benefit from the unique perspective and lines of communication that could be created and maintained by these individuals. A closer look at the phenomenon of return migration might allow policy makers to find new and exciting ways of integrating more fully rural and urban economies as a way of stabilising those economies and distributing the benefits of that stability with all parties. For example, individuals with computer skills can help to improve communication between rural and urban regions by using the internet.

Too often revenues generated in rural areas benefit only the owners of capital who reside in the city. Resentment and reduction in productivity can result from a perception of inequality between rural and urban workers. This could be reduced with a better understanding of how urban and rural cultural differences and similarities are a part of the experiences of returnees, and are often resolved by them on a personal level. Training and education in this regard for both urban and rural dwellers, led or directed by returnees, could resolve many of the perceptual misconceptions of rural and urban dwellers.

A better understanding of return migration might also have an effect on reducing the amount of migration. Incentives for relevant education for rural dwellers might be one result, as well as the geographical diversification of relevant training programs to make them more accessible to rural dwellers. Expansion of correspondence and televised post-secondary courses might also be a positive result. Potential migrants with better access to information will be better equipped to make decisions that will lead to their success, be it as a migrant or a non-migrant.

A better understanding of the movement of people to and from different regions of the country could also give higher levels of government the ability to better serve the needs of urban and rural dwellers alike. Similar to what is now done with incentives for rural doctors, potential returnees with pertinent skills could be encouraged to return to their region of origin to work for the betterment of the regions where they were raised.

For social scientists, internal return migration is an aspect of human behaviour which has been rarely studied and little understood. Although an

understanding of return migration could have a potentially huge impact on migration studies, return migration is currently seen as an anomaly in many migration studies. It should be seen, rather, as a normal aspect of migration. Far from being illogical in an economic sense or otherwise, return migration is a response to perceived negative aspects of urban life and an economically forced displacement from a comfortable and understandable network of financial and emotional support. People should be able to move to another region because they desire to do so, not because they are being forced to in order to gain some sense of economic security. Researchers and the policy makers who may have influence need to see migration as a dynamic set of behaviours which can be reversed by subtle changes in regional economies, or conversely, may not be based at all on economic reasoning. This understanding can only benefit people in all regions.

Possible Directions for Further Study

There are a number of different areas for further study of return migration. Overall, the number of studies and the amount of good data on return migration flows is limited. Without a clear perception of rates of return migration flow, it is difficult to build theory about what shapes or is shaped by return migration. An important aspect of future study of return migration is how that information can be used. One direction might be to encourage relevant government departments to gain a better understanding of return migration. Pro-active governments might be able to make good use of the skills and interests of return migrants to better integrate urban and rural

settlements. In countries or regions where economic development of rural areas is a priority, developing applications out of a better understanding of return migration could help greatly in finding local development solutions. By creating awareness through education, and eventually policy at local and regional levels to deal with return migration, government and non-government agencies can tap into the interests and skills of returnees to improve rural economic development and economic relations between urban and rural regions. This might best be done by looking at migration and return in the context of relevant rural development literature.

Because of the limited scope of this study, it would be advantageous to conduct a much larger scale study of the migration and return cycle in Canada, focusing on the needs of potential migrants, migrants and returnees, such as education, job training, and resettlement programs. Both migration and return decisions are complex human behaviours based on multiple factors and based on limited and sometimes erroneous information. The development of resources to better inform potential migrants might be a useful step in reducing problems for migrants. Counselling, and financial and emotional support, if implemented in a flexible way, could improve the chances of potential migrants and returnees in making informed decisions about migration as well as assist with the psychological problems of relocation.

Final Remarks

This case study of return migration in the Swan River Valley shows that return migration, though little studied or understood, may have a significant impact on a rural region. The size of the flow of returnees is most obvious

when triggered by a change in the economic opportunities in the region of origin or host regions. But return migration can happen at any time, to larger or smaller degrees depending on the availability of employment in the region, and depending on other non-economic factors. Although employment opportunities in the region of origin are a necessary condition for return to occur, it is not necessarily the cause of return. For migrants to return to the region of origin they must be able to find jobs, but return is based on primarily non-economic factors. Proximity to family and friends, the social and physical environment of rural life, lower crime rates, and the relaxed lifestyle are all contributing factors to the decision of migrants to return. Although in some cases the return was made because of failure in the host society, in most cases returnees were able to carefully weigh the decision to return. The decision to return is often a close call between the draws of rural life and the economic opportunities of city life.

Potential exists for the economic and social revitalisation of a rural region if the skills, interests, and talents of returnees can be harnessed to create a better relationship between urban and rural regions and people. An understanding of the factors and processes that effect and create migration and return around the world can broaden our understanding of modern human organisation based on a capitalist economic system, and the ways that some people rebel against it. By studying return migration, we also see that people have a fundamental need to continue aspects of their traditional culture despite the draw of greater economic gains. Rates of return migration, if studied properly, might show that more people than expected feel that a connection to

family and place takes precedence over higher wages. Connection to family, land, and culture has an important psychological effect on people. By understanding and tapping into the positive aspects of the need for and use of family networks for survival and emotional needs in the context of return migration, researchers and administrators can both ease transitions for migrants and use their abilities to improve conditions in rural regions.

Appendix A :Survey

A. General Information

1. Name: _____

2. Age: _____ Sex: Male Female (Circle One)

3. Location of Home (Municipality) _____

4. Do you live in a town or village, or on the farm? _____

5. Are you married, single, or divorced? _____

6. Do you have any dependents? Yes No (Circle One) If so, how many?

7. What is the composition of your family? Place a check next to each family member that you currently live with.

Mother ____ Father ____ Sister(s) ____ How Many? _____

Brother(s) ____ How Many? _____

Others (please list, with relationship to you,
i.e. cousin) _____

B. Future Plans

1. Are you currently working? Yes No (Circle One)

2. What kind of work is it? (example: farm labour)

3. Is this the kind of work you would like to do for a living? _____

4. Are you planning to go to school, either this fall or in the

future? _____

5. What kind of course would you like to take? (examples; art, engineering, agribusiness)

6. Briefly describe where you hope to be in five years in terms of where you will live, what sort of job you will have, etc.

7. Can you see yourself living in the Valley for the rest of your life?

C. Community Involvement

1. Which sports or recreation clubs do you belong to, if any?

2. Are you an active churchgoer? Yes No (Circle One)

3. If you do go to church, do you go with family? Yes No (Circle One)

4. Are you a member of a political party? Yes No (Circle One)

5. Which social groups, such as 4H, are you a member of, if any? _____

6. Name some groups, clubs, or organizations that you think are important in your community. Some examples might be the Boy Scouts or the Lions.

D. Attitudes and Perceptions

1. The following sentences contain two different adjectives that might describe the Swan Valley. Please circle the number that shows which word describes Swan Valley and how strongly you feel it applies.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Stable economy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | unstable economy |
| 2. Good transportation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | poor transportation |
| 3. important administrative center | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | unimportant administrative center |
| 4. Winters boring | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | winters enjoyable |
| 5. Rough town | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | civilized |
| 6. Prosperous | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | poor |
| 7. High cost of living | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | cost of living same as Winnipeg |
| 8. Polluted | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | clean |

9. Heavily industrial	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	residential
10. Many social problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	no social problems
11. Can make a lot of money	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	cannot make much money
12. Interesting people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	dull population
13. Accessible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	isolated
14. Complete range of goods and services	2	3	4	5	6	7	inadequate range of goods and services	
15. Progressive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	conservative
16. Lifestyle like city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	lifestyle not like city
17. Good for recreation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor for recreation
18. Has all the modern facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	lacks modern facilities
19. Bad weather	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	good weather
20. Much racial stress	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	no racial stress
21. Far from city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	close to city
22. People move a lot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	people stay in area
23. People friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	people unfriendly
24. Favourable male/female ratio	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfavourable male/female ratio
25. Diverse economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	rely on one industry
26. Little to do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	lots to do

II. The purpose of this section is to find out what kinds of things are important to you for the future. Different people have different things that are important to them. Please rate each of the following from one to ten on a scale of their importance to you. Ten is extremely important, one is not important at all.

1. Getting a job that pays a lot of money _____
2. Getting a job that makes me feel good _____
3. Getting a job that lets me stay in the Valley _____
4. Getting an education beyond high school _____
5. Getting a university or college degree _____
6. Traveling around the country or the world _____
7. Getting married and having a family _____
8. Staying in Swan Valley to live _____
9. Moving away from Swan Valley _____
10. Being close to family _____

III.

1. What is there about living on the farm or in a small town that you do not like, if anything? _____

Appendix B: Untabulated Results of Survey

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	
1	17	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0		0	1	store clerk	0	1	music industry
2	18	2	3	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	2		0	1	cashier	0	1	pharmacy
3	18	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	1	florist	0	1	business
4	17	2	3	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0		0	1	Tourism hostess	0	1	agriculture
5	18	1	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0		0	1	farm labour, truck driver	0	1	automotive electronics
6	19	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		0	1	cook/waitress	0	1	social work
7	18	1	3	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	1	retail	0	1	business administration
8	18	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	1	cashier	0	1	sciences
9	17	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0		0	1	cashier, photo developer	0	1	business, music
10	18	2	3	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0		0	1	bar personel	0	1	business
11	18	2	4	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	1	cashier, photo developer	0	1	business
12	18	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	common-law husband	0	1	bar personel	0	1	massage therapy
13	18	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		0	1		0	1	computers
14	18	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		0	1		0	1	music
15	18	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0		0	1	salesperson	0	1	business
16	17	2	5	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0		0	1		0	1	nurses aid
17	21	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	grandmother, aunt, 3 cousins	1			0	1	mechanics, business
18	18	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	1	labourer	0	1	art, photography
19	18	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		0	1	café	0	1	computer design
20	18	1	4	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0		0	1	contract work	0	1	bible study
21	18	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0		0	1	labourer	0	1	graphic design
22	18	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	1		0	1	engineering
23	18	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	1	cashier	0	1	bible study, science
24	18	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	grandmother	1		internet service provider	0	1	early childhood education
25	17	1	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0		0	1	lifeguard/instructor	0	1	multimedia applications
26	19	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0		0	1		0	1	advertising art
27	18	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0		0	1	labourer	0	1	automotive technician
28	18	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0		0	1	library, farm	0	1	business administration
29	18	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	boyfriend	1		waitress	0	1	business administration
30	18	1	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	2		0	1	farm labour	0	1	advertising art
31	18	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0		0	1	labourer	0	1	agriculture
32	18	2	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	0		0	1		0	1	early childhood education
33	17	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0		0	1	grain handler	0	1	agriculture
34	17	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	1		0	1	advertising art
35	18	1	7	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0		0	1	Subway	0	1	graphic design
36	18	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		0	1	golf course	0	1	engineering
37	18	2	8	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	1		0	1	business administration
38	18	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	0		0	1	secretary, waitress	0	1	physiotherapy

	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
1	Nashville, Tennessee	music studio		0		0	1	1
2	Winnipeg	pharmacist		0	Thunderhill ski club		0	1
3		independent		0			0	1
4	rural setting	agriculture		0			0	0
5	Swan River	automotive electrician		0	Thunderhill ski club		1	1
6	Swan River	social work		0	Golf Club		0	0
7	Calgary	banking		0			0	0
8	Toronto	optometry		0	school sports		0	1
9	university			0	fastball, karate		1	1
10	another province	international business	0	0			0	1
11	Swan River	massage therapy		0	slo-pitch, volleyball		0	0
12				0	softball, curling		0	0
13	don't care	something I enjoy		0			0	0
14				0			0	1
15	Swan Valley	hospital or personal care	married	0			0	1
16	Yorkton, Sask.	mech. Parts shop		0			0	0
17				0			0	0
18	city in Can. US or Europe	creating virtual reality programs		0			0	0
19				0			0	0
20		design or advertising		0			0	1
21	Winnipeg	electrical or mech engineering		0	football, hockey, bible study		1	0
22		science		0	ski club, softball, school teams		1	1
23	rural setting	early childhood education		0	dance school		0	0
24	Calgary or Winnipeg	designing educational software	married with family	0			0	0
25	Winnipeg	design firm		0			0	0
26	Manitoba	journey-person papers, army		0			0	0
27	city	own business		0	curling, figure skating		0	1
28	Winnipeg or Alberta	own business, or for big comp.		0	basketball, golf, curling		0	0
29	Swan River	work for government		0	Dolnya dancers		0	1
30	Europe	graphic design firm	married with family	0			0	0
31	city	agriculture or sport management		0			0	0
32		daycare		0	hockey, baseball, golf		0	0
33	Saskatoon	university agriculture		0	chuckwagon and chariot, volleyball		0	0
34	Winnipeg or Edmonton	Red River Com. College		0			0	0
35				0	Dolnya dancers		0	1
36	Winnipeg	US master's engineering		0			0	0
37	The Pas or Brandon	retail outlet		0	curling		0	1
38	Vancouver Island	sport physiotherapy	family	0	ringette, fastball, hockey, volleyball		0	0

	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG	AH	AI	AJ	AK
1	0	church	3	3	7	4	4	5	4	5	7
2	0		1	3	3	5	2	2	4	6	4
3	0	Rotary club	4	3	2	5	5	2	5	6	4
4	0	cancer support groups, Kinsmen, crisis center	2	2	3	6	6	3	7	6	6
5	4H		7	7	7	7	5	6	6	7	4
6	0		2	4	4	4	6	4	5	4	4
7	0		3	2	6	7	2	6	5	2	5
8	church youth group	lions, 4H	1	3	2	7	6	2	3	6	7
9	4H	4H, lions, youth groups, kids groups	2	3	4	6	7	3	5	6	5
10		service clubs, elks and lions	4	4	4	3	5	2	4	6	6
11		lions, kinsmen, scouts, sports teams	4	3	2	2	5	5	2	3	4
12		4H, lions, youth groups, kids groups	4	4	3	3	4	4	2	2	4
13		rotary club, lions, band boosters	4	3	0	6	4	3	0	3	0
14	0		1	7	4	7	6	2	4	6	5
15		kinsmen, kinettes, elks, girl guides	7	5	4	3	5	6	2	4	4
16	0		3	5	3	5	4	4	3	4	6
17	0	youth group	3	2	3	6	4	3	0	3	4
18	Graphic Design Soc. Of Canada	lions, rotary club	2	5	4	6	6	3	7	6	5
19		church group, big brother	2	3	4	6	6	4	2	2	5
20		elks	3	3	2	6	6	4	3	6	6
21		lions, rec committee, sports, church groups	5	6	4	6	4	3	4	5	5
22	church youth group	lions, kinsmen, legion, christian women, elks	3	3	6	7	6	4	7	5	6
23		cancer society, lions, elks, rotary, mental health, hospital auxiliary	4	4	4	5	3	4	4	5	5
24		legion, lions, 4H, rotary	3	5	3	7	2	2	2	7	2
25		minor hockey, kinsmen, lions	5	5	4	7	4	4	4	5	6
26		lions, curling club	3	7	4	2	4	7	2	4	6
27	0		4	2	4	2	5	3	3	4	5
28	0	rotary elks lions	4	6	4	3	5	4	3	5	6
29	0	lions, rotary, cancer society, hospital auxiliary, mental health	4	4	4	6	2	4	5	5	6
30	0	lions, elks golf club, curling club	2	5	6	1	3	2	7	6	5
31	0	4H, lions, youth groups, kids groups	2	2	3	5	4	4	6	5	4
32	0	4H, scouts, brownies	2	3	2	3	3	2	4	7	3
33	0	cadets, guides, scouts, lions, shriners, kinette	4	4	3	2	3	3	4	4	4
34	0		3	3	2	5	3	2	4	4	5
35	0		3	3	4	6	4	4	4	5	6
36	environmental youth, peer tutoring,		0	0	0	7	7	1	0	7	0
37		minor sports	6	6	0	7	5	4	2	7	7
38	environmental youth	rotary, lions	3	4	5	6	5	3	5	5	6

	AL	AM	AN	AO	AP	AQ	AR	AS	AT	AU	AV	AW	AX	AY	AZ	BA	BB	BC	BD	BE	BF	BG	BH	BI	BJ	BK	
1	3	7	4	3	7	7	7	3	4	4	1	1	7	3	4	7	4	10	6	2	7	8	3	4	1	9	
2	5	4	3	5	4	3	4	4	3	4	3	2	6	2	2	4	4	10	10	5	10	10	8	9	5	7	
3	4	4	6	4	6	4	7	5	4	7	3	4	7	7	4	7	1	10	9	1	10	10	8	8	1	10	
4	3	4	4	1	4	4	7	1	1	6	3	2	3	1	3	6	4	4	7	5	10	9	8	7	7	1	
5	4	4	4	5	6	4	2	6	4	5	5	4	4	5	4	5	6	10	8	7	10	10	1	1	7	5	
6	4	5	4	4	4	4	6	4	4	4	6	6	6	6	5	5	4	5	8	5	8	8	5	8	5	5	
7	3	6	4	4	1	3	7	2	2	2	2	1	4	6	7	5	1	10	10	0	10	10	10	7	0	10	
8	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	7	1	7	2	6	2	6	9	9	8	10	10	8	9	9	0	
9	5	4	3	3	2	4	5	3	3	7	6	1	4	2	3	5	5	6	10	2	9	5	8	7	1	3	
10	5	6	4	5	5	4	7	3	3	3	3	1	5	2	1	2	1	9	9	1	10	10	9	9	2	10	
11	5	3	5	5	5	3	7	6	5	6	7	5	4	6	4	5	7	7	10	6	6	6	8	9	5	3	
12	2	6	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	9	9	10	8	9	5	10	7	7	
13	4	5	5	4	7	0	7	5	6	4	5	6	0	4	3	4	5	5	10	1	10	7	9	8	1	1	
14	6	5	2	2	2	4	6	2	3	4	5	6	5	2	1	1	2	10	10	2	9	9	6	10	4	6	
15	5	7	6	5	7	4	2	5	6	3	5	7	5	4	4	5	7	7	8	6	9	9	5	9	7	7	
16	3	6	6	3	4	2	5	6	6	4	3	4	4	5	4	5	3	8	10	7	10	9	6	8	5	5	
17	1	2	5	2	2	0	7	1	1	4	2	3	3	3	5	6	3	8	10	1	2	2	9	3	2	5	
18	5	3	5	2	6	6	3	3	5	3	4	2	5	2	6	4	3	9	10	1	10	10	6	8	1	9	
19	3	5	3	2	6	4	3	2	3	5	5	2	4	2	4	4	5	9	9	9	9	9	10	8	8	4	
20	5	5	4	4	5	5	6	6	6	5	3	2	3	5	5	5	3	7	9	4	8	8	9	7	2	7	
21	3	6	3	6	2	3	7	2	5	4	6	1	4	3	3	6	2	7	10	1	10	10	5	10	1	7	
22	4	6	4	2	4	0	6	3	6	4	3	1	6	1	6	6	4	7	10	3	10	10	7	5	4	4	
23	4	4	4	2	2	2	4	4	5	3	6	2	4	4	4	2	2	5	6	4	9	7	1	10	3	2	
24	6	6	2	2	2	2	6	7	7	5	6	1	4	1	7	6	2	9	10	1	10	10	8	1	9		
25	4	4	4	4	6	4	7	4	5	6	1	7	5	3	4	4	5	9	10	3	6	7	5	4	1	10	
26	4	6	4	1	6	6	5	4	3	2	3	1	3	4	6	7	4	4	10	2	8	9	7	6	1	3	
27	6	3	6	2	5	4	6	4	5	4	3	2	5	3	2	5	3	10	10	6	10	10	8	10	4	9	
28	3	6	6	6	5	3	6	4	3	6	6	1	2	2	3	2	3	7	3	9	1	8	4	5	10	6	
29	4	4	4	2	4	0	4	4	5	1	2	2	2	4	4	2	3	8	9	5	3	2	1	10	6	7	
30	4	4	3	6	5	4	7	2	6	2	3	1	6	4	4	1	3	9	8	2	4	5	10	6	1	7	
31	4	4	3	2	5	1	5	2	3	4	4	2	6	3	4	6	2	8	9	3	8	8	4	8	4	4	
32	4	4	3	2	2	2	4	2	2	4	3	4	6	3	2	3	5	7	10	8	10	10	1	9	5	1	8
33	4	4	5	4	4	6	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	5	6	5	10	1	10	9	3	7	7	1	8	
34	4	6	5	6	3	0	7	3	4	4	1	5	5	2	0	0	2	8	10	2	9	9	7	7	1	9	
35	4	5	7	7	6	5	7	3	4	4	4	2	4	3	4	3	2	8	9	1	10	10	9	5	1	10	
36	2	6	5	2	3	0	6	2	1	0	0	0	6	1	1	0	2	10	10	3	10	10	9	9	3	8	
37	3	6	2	4	4	0	7	3	5	4	7	4	6	1	4	4	4	8	7	3	10	9	1	6	2	4	
38	3	3	5	6	6	6	6	3	4	4	5	1	2	2	3	4	3	8	10	4	10	10	9	10	4	7	

	BL	BM	BN
1	5	poor shopping	shopping, variety of jobs, education
2	9	distance from city	university, more options
3	7	little privacy	access to goods and services
4	10	no concerts, shopping, few people, limited perspective	education, jobs, boyfriend/girlfriend
5	4		better shopping and prices
6	10	not much to do	shopping, more recreation, more people
7	10	little for young people but drink	professional facilities
8	8	need vehicle	zoo, concerts, amusement parks, malls, education, night clubs
9	4	far from city, boring	jobs, stores, entertainment, people
10	10	not much to do, few people	more activities, new people, better education
11	10	far from friends, no privacy	can express individuality
12	10		shopping
13	8		job in music or graphic design
14	10	not much to do, little entertainment, few stores	things to do
15	9	little privacy	education, shopping
16	8	not much to do	dance clubs, rec center
17	7	isolated	can go anywhere anytime, more jobs
18	7	people all think the same way	different ways of living, current lifestyle and fashion
19	9	fewer opportunities	more stores
20	6	isolated, boring, youth blamed for social problems	more activities, more people, concerts, movies
21	10	little to do, people nosy, few people, few good jobs	night clubs, more people more events
22	10	far from doctor specialists, travel for everything	shopping, doctors, universities
23	8	few jobs, poor shopping	malls, waterparks, amusement parks
24	2	rumours	easier to just pick something up
25	2	far from city, not enough people	nightclubs, people, malls, stores, pro sports
26	5	nosy neighbours	more people, more things to do, stores
27	7	lack of entertainment	shopping, restaurants, entertainment
28	2	isolation	more people, better jobs, more variety
29	4	poor jobs, shopping	malls
30	3	isolated, no jobs	different people, goods and services, more and different jobs
31	8	know everybody	more activities
32	5		malls, more selection stores
33	10	few activities for kids,	shopping, better prices
34	6	options limited, boring	arts and entertainment
35	5	boring, same people	different people, places to go, entertainment concerts music
36	10	a lot of driving	jobs
37	5	no stores, recreation and med. Services	more stores, entertainment, jobs, education
38	9	isolation, no shopping, social or cultural events	sports, cultural events, shopping

	BO	BP	BQ	BR	BS	BT	BU	BV	BW	BX	BY	BZ	CA	CB	CC
1	fresh air, less crime	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	you know everyone, better for family, family is here	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
3	people friendlier, everything nearby	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	1	0
4	good education, rural experience, work ethic, people care	2	1	1	1	1 and 0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
5	safer, less crime, clean air	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	1
6	friendliness	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	1	0
7		0	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	1	1
8	freedom, animals, nature, clean air, safety, know people	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0
9	water, quiet, scenery, everybody knows everybody	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	5	0	1	1	0	0
10	privacy, nature, easy to get around	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
11	friendliness, people are nice	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	0
12	peace and quiet	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	5	0	0	1	0	0
13	open space, camping, quading, everything close together	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	0
14	privacy, friendly atmosphere	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	0
15	friendly people, bigger yards	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0
16	quiet, no pollution	?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13	1	1	1	1	0
17	peace and quiet	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	5	1	1	1	1	0
18	friendly people, easier to get around	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
19	less people, less stress, friendlier people, more space	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
20	open space	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
21	knowing everybody, winter rec, hunting fishing	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0
22	less traffic and pollution, forests	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0
23	nature, open space, friendlier people	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	5	0	1	1	1	0
24	closeness, concern for others, friendly	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	5	0	0	0	1	0
25	room to ski-doo	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	1	1	0
26	more peaceful, can see stars, wildlife	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	1	0
27	privacy, access to lakes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
28	pollution, quiet, space	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
29	pollution, space, friendly people, wildlife	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
30	security, slow pace, farm animals	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	0	1	1	1	0
31		0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	0	1
32	freedom, space	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	0	1	1	1
33	safety, crime less likely	6	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	1
34		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
35		0	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
36	privacy, friendliness, animals	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	1
37	quiet, friendliness, you know everybody	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	0
38	peace and quiet safety, privacy	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	1	1	0

	CD	CE	CF	CG	CH
1	1	0	0	1	1
2	1	0	0	0	1
3	0	0	1	0	1
4	1	0	0	2	1
5	1	0	1	2	1
6	0	1	0	1	1
7	1	0	1	2	1
8	1	0	0	2	1
9	0	0	1	2	1
10	0	0	1	2	1
11	0	0	1	2	1
12	0	0	0	2	2
13	1	0	0	2	1
14	0	0	0	1	1
15	1	0	0	1	1
16	1	0	0	2	1
17	0	1	0	2	1
18	1	0	0	1	1
19	0	0	0	1	1
20	1	1	2	1	2
21	1	0	0	1	1
22	1	0	0	2	1
23	1	0	0	1	1
24	1	0	0	0	1
25	1	0	0	2	1
26	0	0	1	2	1
27	1	0	0	1	1
28	0	1	0	1	1
29	0	0	1	0	1
30	0	1	0	0	1
31	1	1	0	1	1
32	1	0	0	1	1
33	0	0	0	0	1
34	0	1	0	2	1
35	0	0	1	0	1
36	0	0	0	0	1
37	0	1	0	2	1
38	1	0	1	1	1

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